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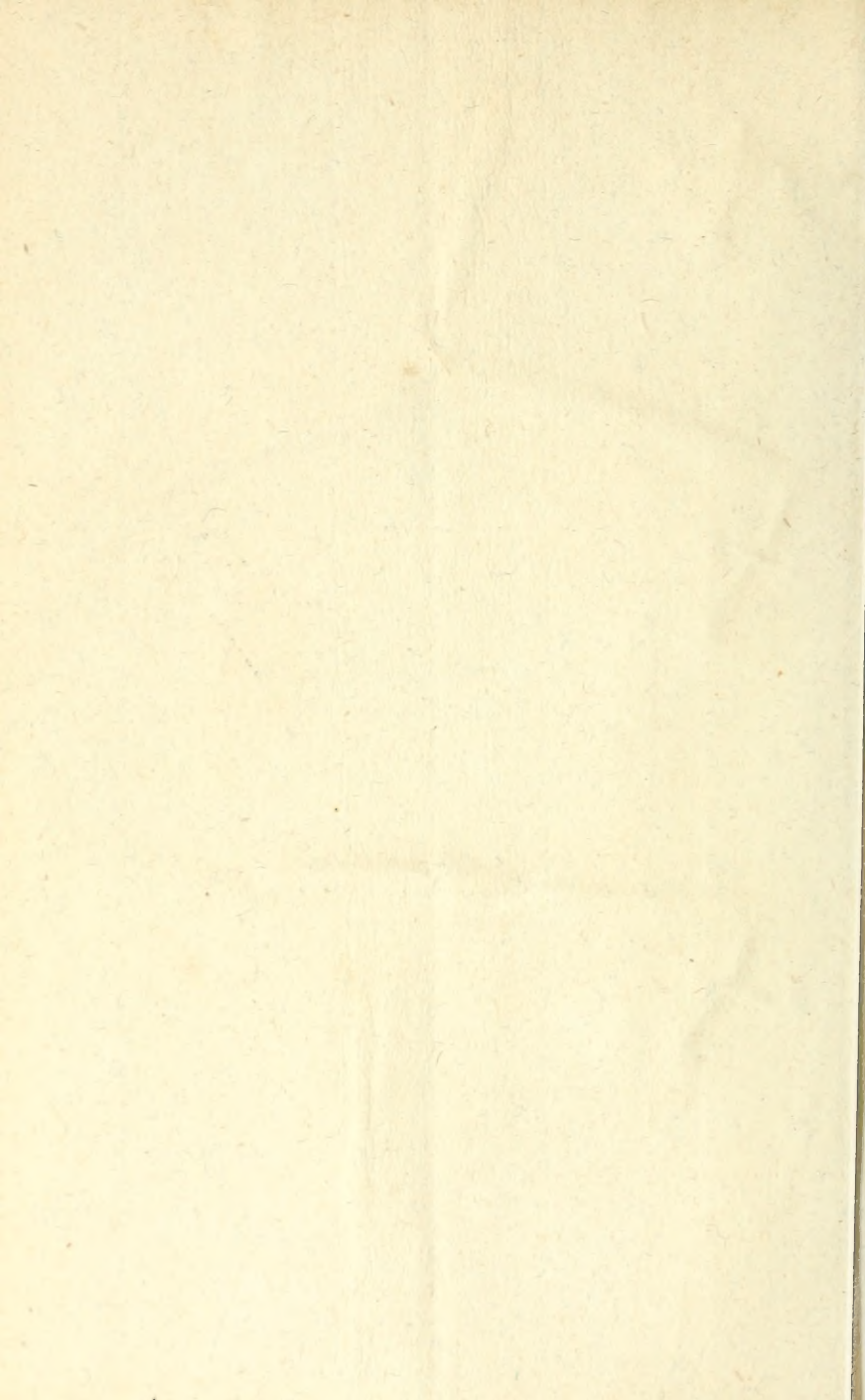


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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS  
IN  
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right-Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor  
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

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Κηρυξ ἐς ἀεί. Thucyd.

*Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.*

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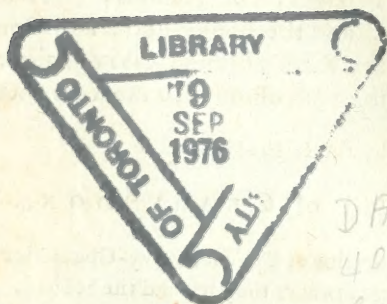
V O L. IX.

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THE  
History of the Rebellion, etc.  
B O O K X.

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THERE was at this time a new Faction grown up in the Army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own consent, called *Level- B O O K*  
*lers*; who spoke insolently and confidently against the X.  
King and Parliament, and the great Officers of the The Levellers  
Army; and professed as great malice against all the grew up in  
Lords, as against the King; and declared "that all the Army.  
"degrees of Men should be levelled, and an equality  
"should be established, both in Titles and Estates,  
"throughout the Kingdoms." Whether the raising  
this Spirit was a piece of *Cromwell's* ordinary witch-  
craft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it  
grew amongst those Tares which had been sowed in  
that confusion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble  
at last (which must be set down hereafter) but the  
present use he made of it was, that, upon the licentious  
discourse of that kind, which some Soldiers upon the  
Guard usually made, the Guard upon the King's  
Person was doubled; a restraint put upon the great  
resort of People who came to see the King; and all  
pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any  
Violence that might be attempted upon his life;  
which they seemed to apprehend, and detest. In the

B O O K mean time, they neither hindered his Majesty from  
 X. riding abroad to take the Air, nor from doing any  
 thing he had a mind to, nor restrained those who  
 waited upon him in his Bed-Chamber, nor his Chap-  
 lains from performing their Functions; though to-  
 wards all these there was less civility exercised than  
 had been; and the Guards which waited nearest,  
 were more rude, and made more noise at unseasonable  
 hours than they had been accustomed to do; the  
 Captain who commanded them, Colonel *Whaley*,  
 being a Man of a rough and brutal temper, who had  
 offered great violence to his Nature, when he appear-  
 ed to exercise any civility and good manners. The  
 King, every day, received little Billets, or Letters,  
 secretly conveyed to him without any Name, which  
 advertised him of wicked designs upon his life, and  
 some of them advised him to make an Escape, and  
 repair secretly into the City, where he should be safe;  
 some Letters directing him to such an Alderman's  
 House; all which his Majesty looked upon as artifice  
 to lead him into some straits, from whence he should  
 not easily extricate himself; and yet many who  
 repaired to him, brought the same advice from Men  
 of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever  
 they were swayed.

The King found himself in great perplexity, from  
 what he discerned, and observed himself, as well as  
 what he heard from others; but what use to make of  
 the one or the other, was very hard to resolve: he did  
 really believe that their Malice was at the height, and  
 that they did design his Murder, but knew not which  
 was a probable way to prevent it. The making an



escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated, by pretended Ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their Guards, and get beyond them undiscovered, whither should he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the City seemed not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover Courage for such an adventure; and the Army now was much more Master of it than when they desponded. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the Seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass, but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discovered; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the Resolution, or Counsel. But, one morning, being the eleventh of *November*, the King having, the night before, pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his Chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his Bed that Night. There were two or three Letters found upon his Table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another to the General; in which he declared "the reason of his remove to be, "an apprehension that some desperate Persons had a "design to Assassinate him; and therefore he had "withdrawn himself with a purpose of remaining "concealed, until the Parliament had agreed upon "such Propositions as should be fit for him to consent "to; and he would then appear, and willingly consent to any thing that should be for the Peace and

The King  
escapes from  
Hampton-  
Court. Nov. 11.

**B O O K** "Happiness of the Kingdom." There were discovered  
**x.** the treading of Horses at a Back-door of the Garden into which his Majesty had a Passage out of his Chamber, and it is true that way he went, having appointed his Horse to be there ready at an hour, and Sir *John Berkeley*, *Ashburnham*, and *Legg*, to wait upon him, the two last being of his Bed-Chamber. *Ashburnham* alone seemed to know what they were to do, the other two having received only Orders to attend. When they were free from the Apprehension of the Guards, and the Horse-Quarters, they rode towards the South-West, and towards that part of *Hampshire* which led to the New-Forest. The King asked *Ashburnham*, where the Ship lay? which made the other two conclude that the King resolved to Transport himself. After they had made some stay in that part next the Sea, and *Ashburnham* had been some time absent, he returned without any news of the Ships; with which the King seemed troubled. Upon this disappointment, the King thought it best, for avoiding all High-ways, to go to *Titchfield*, a noble Seat of the Earl of *Southampton's* (who was not there) but inhabited by the old Lady his Mother with a small Family, which made the retreat the more convenient; there his Majesty alighted, and would speak with the Lady; to whom he made no scruple of Communicating himself, well knowing her to be a Lady of that Honor, and Spirit, that she was superior to all kind of temptation. There he refreshed himself, and consulted with his three Servants, what he should next do, since there was neither Ship ready, nor could they presume that they could remain long there undiscovered.

He comes to  
 Titchfield in  
 Hampshire.



In this debate, the Isle of *Wight* came to be mentioned (as they say) by *Ashburnham*, as a place where his Majesty might securely repose himself, until he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel *Hammond* was Governor there, an Officer of the Army, and of nearest trust with *Cromwell*, having by his advice been Married to a Daughter of *John Hamlden*, whose memory he always adored; yet, by some fatal mistake, this Man was thought a Person of Honor and Generosity enough to trust the King's Person to, and *Ashburnham*, and *Berkeley*, were sent to him with Orders, "first to be sure that the Man would  
 " faithfully promise not to deliver his Majesty up  
 " though the Parliament or Army should require  
 " him, but to give him his Liberty to shift for himself,  
 " if he were not able to defend him; and except he  
 " would make that promise, they should not let him  
 " know where his Majesty was, but should return  
 " presently to him." With this Commission they two crossed the Water to the Isle of *Wight*, the King in the mean time reposing himself at *Tichfield*. The next day they found Colonel *Hammond*; who was known to them both, who had Conversation with him in the Army, when the King was well treated there (and their Persons had been very civilly treated by most of the Officers; who thought themselves qualified sufficiently for Court-Preferments) They told him, " that the King was withdrawn from the Army;" of which he seemed to have had no notice, and to be very much surpris'd with it. They then said, " that  
 " the King had so good an opinion of him, knowing  
 " him to be a Gentleman, and for his relation to Dr.

The King  
sends Ashburn-  
ham and  
Berkeley to  
Col. Ham-  
mond in the  
Isle of Wight.

R O L O K  
Z.

“ *Hammond* ( whose Nephew he was ) that he would  
 “ trust his Person with him , and would from thence  
 “ write to the Parliament, if he would promise that if  
 “ his Message had not that effect which he hoped it  
 “ would have, he would leave him to himself to go  
 “ whither he thought fit, and would not deliver him  
 “ to the Parliament, or Army, if they should require  
 “ it. His Answer was, “ that he would pay all the  
 “ Duty and Service to his Majesty that was in his  
 “ power ; and, if he pleased to come thither, he would  
 “ receive and entertain him as well as he could ; but  
 “ that he was an Inferior Officer, and must obey his  
 “ Superiors in whatsoever they thought fit to com-  
 “ mand him : ” with which when he saw they were  
 not satisfied, he asked, “ where the King was ? ” to  
 which they made no other Answer, “ but that they  
 “ would acquaint his Majesty with his Answer, and,  
 “ if he were satisfied with it, they would return to  
 “ him again. He demanded that Mr. *Ashburnham*  
 “ would stay with him, and that the other might go  
 “ to the King ; which Mr. *Ashburnham* refused to do.”

After some time spent in debate, in which he made  
 many expressions of his desire to do any Service to  
 his Majesty, they were contented that he should go  
 with them ; and *Ashburnham* said, “ he would con-  
 “ duct him to the place where the King was ; ” and so,  
 he Commanding three or four Servants or Soldiers  
 to wait on him, they went together to *Tichfield* ; and,  
 the other staying below, *Ashburnham* went up to the  
 King's Chamber. When he had acquainted him with  
 all that had passed, and that *Hammond* was in the  
 House, his Majesty broke out in a passionate excla-

They bring  
*Hammond*  
 to the King.

mation, and said, “O *Jack*, thou hast undone me!” with which the other falling into a great passion of weeping, offered to go down, and to kill *Hammond*; to which his Majesty would not consent; and, after some pausing, and deliberation, sent for him up, and endeavoured to persuade him to make the same promise, which had before been proposed; to which he made the same Answer he had done, but with many professions of doing all the Offices he could for his Majesty; and seemed to believe that the Army would do well for him. The King believed that there was now no possible way to get from him, he having the Command of the Country, and could call in what help he would; and so went with him into the Isle of *Wight*, and was Lodged at *Carisbrook-Castle*, at first with all demonstration of Respect and Duty.

B O O K  
X.

*Hammond*  
removes the  
King to *Ca-*  
*risbrook-*  
*Castle.*

It never appeared afterwards that the King was maliciously betrayed to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of those he trusted; and his Majesty himself never entertained the least Jealousy, or Suspicion of it; yet the whole design appeared to be so weakly contrived, the not being sure of a Ship, if the Resolution were fixed for Embarking, which was never manifest, the making choice of the Isle of *Wight*, and of *Hammond* to be trusted, since nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected, and the bringing him to *Titchfield*, without the permission of the King, if not directly contrary to it, seemed to be all so far from a rational design and conduct, that most Men did believe there was Treason in the contrivance, or that his Majesty intrusted those who were grossly imposed

The Author's  
opinion of  
this whole  
business.



BOOK upon and deceived by his greatest Enemies. *Legg* had had so general a Reputation of Integrity, and Fidelity to his Matter, that he never fell under the least Imputation or Reproach with any Man: he was a very punctual and steady observer of the Orders he received, but no contriver of them, and though he had in truth a better Judgment and Understanding than either of the other two, his modesty and diffidence of himself never suffered him to contrive bold Counsels *Berkely* was less known among those Persons of Honor and Quality who had followed the King, being in a very private Station before the War, and his Post in it being in the farthest Corner of the Kingdom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; Ambition and Vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those who had not; but he never fell under any blemish of Disloyalty, and he took care to publish that this Enterprize of the King's was so totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on Horse back at such an hour, and had not the least intimation of his Majesty's purpose what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by *Hammond*, did him much credit, that when *Hammond* demanded that *Ashburnham* should remain with him whilst the other went to the King, which *Ashburnham* refused to do, *Berkely* did offer himself to remain with him whilst *Ashburnham* should attend his Majesty; so that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was cast upon *Ashburnham*, who was known to have so great an

Interest in the Affections of his Majesty, and so great an influence upon his Counsels and Resolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him. B O O K  
X.

The not having a Ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcusable; and the putting the King into *Hammond's* hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were some who said, that *Ashburnham* resolved that the King should go to the Isle of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton-Court*; and the Lord *Langdale* often said, "that being in Mr. *Ashburnham's* Chamber at that time, he had the curiosity, whilst the other went out of the Room, to look upon a Paper that lay upon the Table; in which was writ, that it would be best for the King to withdraw from the Army; where he was in such danger; and that the Isle of *Wight* would be a good retreat, where Colonel *Hammond* Commanded; who was a very honest Man." And this was some days before his Majesty removed. And then it was observed, that *Hammond* himself left the Army but two or three days before the King's remove, and went to the Isle of *Wight* at a Season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the Agitators in the Army were at highest; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, because *Ashburnham* was not afterwards called in Question for being instrumental in the King's going away, but lived unquestioned long after in the sight of the Parliament, and in conversation with some of the Officers of the Army who had most deceived him; and, which was more censured than all the rest, that after the Murder of the King he compounded, as was reported, at an easy

BOOK rate, and lived at ease, and grew rich, for many years  
 II. together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preserved his Reputation and Credit with the most eminent of the King's Party; and his remaining in *England* was upon the Marriage of a Lady by whom he had a great Fortune, and many conveniencies; which would have been seized by his leaving the Kingdom; and he did send over to the King, and had leave to stay there; and sometimes supplied the King with considerable Sums of Money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by *Cromwell*, where he remained till his Death; and the King was known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his Affection and Integrity; and when King *Charles* the Second returned, most of those of greatest Reputation, as the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, gave him a good Testimony; yet then, the old discourses were revived, and Major *Huntington* did affirm, "that Mr. *Asburnham* did intend the King should go to the Isle of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton-Court*." Many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did still think that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had overwitted him, and persuaded him, upon great promises, that it should prove for his Majesty's benefit, and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the Army, and put himself into *Hammond's* hands; for if in truth Transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a Ship would not have been provided.

Sir *John Berkeley*, who, shortly after the King's being in the Isle of *Wight*, had Transported himself into *France*, and remained still with the Duke of *Tork* to



the time of King *Charles* the Second's Return, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, who continued in *England*, and so the more liable to Reproach, had been so solicitous to wipe off the Aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, that they had it in care to preserve the Reputation of a joint Innocence; but whilst each endeavoured to clear himself, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other, that made him liable to just censure; and, in this contention, their Friends mentioned their several discourses so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they loved best, that they contracted a very avowed Animosity against each other; insomuch as it was generally believed upon the King's Return, that they would, with some fierceness, have expostulated with each other in that way which angry Men chuse to determine the right, or that both of them would have desired the King to have caused the whole to be so strictly examined, that the World might have discerned, where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could have been charged upon them: but they applied themselves to neither of those Expedients, and lived only as Men who took no delight in each other's Conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the King, who was satisfied that there had been no Treasonable contrivance (from which his Father had absolved them) did not think it fit, upon such a Subject, to make strict Inquisition into Inadvertencies, Indiscretions, and Presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionally.

It is true that they both writ Apologies, or Narrations of all that had passed in that Affair, which they

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X.

made not public, but gave in writing to such of their Friends in whose opinions they most desired to be absolved, without any Inclination that one should see what the other had writ; in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seemed to doubt of the Integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the King to undertake that Journey. I have read both their Relations, and conferred with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their Loyalty or Affection to the King, or suborned to gratify any Persons with a disservice to their Master. They were both of them great Opiniators, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each other's Understanding; but, as it usually falls out in Men of that kind of Composition, and Talent, they were both disposed to communicate more freely with, and consequently, to be advised by new Acquaintance, and Men they had lately begun to know, than old Friends, and such whose judgments they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go sharers with them in the merit of any notable Service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole managery of the King's business, from the time that they came into the Army, they never conversed with the same Persons; but governed them-

selves by what they received from those whose correspondence they had chosen. *Ashburnham* seemed wholly to rely upon *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*; and rather upon what they said to others than to himself. For besides outward Civilities, which they both exercised towards him more than to other Men, they seldom held private discourse with him, persuading him “ that it was better for both their ends, in respect of “ the jealousy the Parliament had of them, that they “ should understand each other’s mind, as to the “ Transaction of any particulars, from third Persons “ mutually intrusted between them, than from frequent consultations together;” and Sir *Edward Ford*, who had Married *Ireton*’s Sister, but had been himself an Officer in the King’s Army from the beginning of the War, and a Gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reserved and dark designs of his Brother-in-Law, was trusted to pass between them, with some other Officers of the Army, who had given *Ashburnham* reason to believe that they had honest Purposes.

*Berkeley* had not found that respect, from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, that he expected; at least discerned it to be greater towards *Ashburnham*, than it was to Him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgment in them; and therefore had applied himself to others, who had not so great Names, but greater Interest, as he thought, in the Soldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr. *Staines*, who, though a Dr. in Physic, was Quarter-Master-General of the Army; and one *Watson*, who was Scout-Master-General of the Army; both of the Council of War, both in good



B O O K

x.

credit with *Cromwell*, and both notable Fanatics, and professed Enemies to the *Scots*, and the Presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both permitted and instructed to Caress Sir *John Berkeley*, and, by admiring his Wisdom and Conduct, to oblige him to depend on Their's; and dissimulation had so great, and supreme an influence on the Hearts and Spirits of all those who were trusted, and employed by *Cromwell*, that no Man was safe in their Company, but he who resolved before, not to believe one word they said. These two Persons knew well how to humor Sir *John Berkeley*, who believed them the more, because they seemed very much to blame *Ireton's* Stubbornness towards the King, and to fear that he often prevailed upon *Cromwell* against his own Inclinations: They informed him of many particulars which passed in the Council of Officers, and sometimes of advice from *Cromwell*, that was clean contrary to what the King received by *Ashburnham* as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true (as it may be the other was too) which exceedingly confirmed Sir *John* in the good opinion he had of his two Friends. They were the first who positively advertised the King by him, that *Cromwell* would never do him Service; and the first who seemed to apprehend that the King's Person was in danger, and that there was some secret design upon his Life.

I do not believe that Sir *John Berkeley* knew any thing of the King's purpose in his intended escape, or whither he resolved to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he resolved at such an hour, and in such a place, to take Horse, and was himself required to attend him;

nor do I, in truth, think that the King himself, when he took Horse, resolved whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the City; others, that he intended for *Jersey*; and that was the ground of the Question to Mr. *Ashburnham*, "where is the Ship?" Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Isle of *Wight*. I am not sure that Mr. *Ashburnham*, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief Officers of the Army, and believed the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators, and the Levelling Party, had not the Isle of *Wight* in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his Majesty thought it necessary to make an escape from the Army. It had been a difficult task to go about to dissuade the King from an apprehension of his own safety, when it was much more natural to fear an Assassination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr. *Ashburnham* had so great a detestation of the *Scots*, that he expected no good from their Fraternity, the Presbyterians of the City; and did really believe that if his Majesty should put himself into their hands, as was advised by many with a purpose that he should be there concealed, till some favorable conjuncture should offer itself (for no body imagined that, upon his arrival there, the City would have declared for him, and have entered into a Contest with that Army which had so lately subdued them) the security of such an escape was not to be relied on, and very earnestly dissuaded his Master from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his was universally known, and, as hath been said before, was an ingredient into the composition of

BOOK

x.

that civility and kindness the Officers of the Army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the Levelling Spirit that was gotten into the Soldiers, which they foresaw would in the future be as inconvenient, and mischievous to themselves, as it was, for the present, dangerous to the Person of the King; which they seemed wonderfully to apprehend, and protested "that they knew not how to apply any remedy to it, whilst his Majesty was in the Army; but that they would quickly correct or subdue it, if the King were at any distance from them;" and it is not impossible, that, in such discourses, some body who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of *Wight* as a good place to retire to, and Colonel *Hammond* as a Man of good intentions; the minutes of which discourse Mr. *Ashburnham* might keep by him; for the Lord *Langdale's* relation of such a Paper, which he himself saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a mere fiction; to which, besides that he was a Person of unblemished honor and veracity, he had not any temptation; yet Mr. *Ashburnham* did constantly deny that he ever saw any such Paper, or had any thought of the Isle of *Wight* when the King left *Hampton-Court*, and he never gave cause, in the subsequent Actions of his Life, to have his fidelity suspected. And it is probable, that *Cromwell*, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his Life, would have been glad to have blasted his reputation, by declaring that he had carried his Master to the Isle of *Wight*, without his privity, upon his own presumption; which,



which, how well soever intended, must have been looked upon by all Men as such a transcendent crime, as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him. BOOK  
X.

The sudden unexpected withdrawing of the King, made a great impression upon the minds of all Men, every Man fancying that his Majesty would do that which He wished he would do. The Presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the City (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament, and the Army, and the many Factions in the Army, which every day appeared, to discover himself. The Cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the Seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home, which might probably in a short time invite his return. The Army was not without this apprehension, as imagining it the worst that could fall out to their purposes.

The Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the Army, was most frightened with the imagination that the King was in the City, and would lurk there until some conspiracy should be ripe, and all his Party should be present in *London* to second it; and therefore they no sooner heard that he was gone from *Hampton-Court*, than they passed an Ordinance of both Houses, by which they declared, "that it should be Confiscation of Estate, and loss of Life, to any Man who presumed to harbour and conceal the King's Person in his House without revealing, and making it known to the Parliament:" which, The Parliament's behaviour upon the news of the King's withdrawing, and where he was.

**B O O K** no doubt, would have terrified them all in such a  
**X.** manner, that if he had been in truth amongst them, he would quickly have been discovered, and given up. They caused some of the most notorious Presbyterians Houses to be searched, as if they had been sure he had been there; and sent Posts to all Ports of the Kingdom "that they might be shut, and no Person be suffered to Embark, lest the King, in disguise, Transport himself;" and a Proclamation was issued out, "for the banishing all Persons who had ever borne Arms for the King, out of *London*, or any place within twenty miles of it;" and all Persons of that kind, who, upon strict search, were found, were apprehended, and put into several Prisons with all the circumstances of severity and rigor. But all these doubts were quickly cleared. and, within two days, *Cromwell* informed the House of Commons, "that he had received Letters from Colonel *Hammond*, of all the manner of the King's coming to the Isle of *Wight*, and the Company that came with him; that he remained there in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be known." He assured them, "that Colonel *Hammond* was so honest a Man, and so much devoted to their Service, that they need have no jealousy that he might be corrupted by any Body;" and all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all Men concluded that the King was where He wished he should be.

And now the Parliament maintained no farther contests with the Army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they proposed; the Presbyterians in both

Houses, and in the City, being in a terrible Agony, that some close correspondences they had held with the King during his abode at *Hampton-Court*, would be discovered; and therefore would give no farther occasion of jealousy by any contradictions, leaving it to their Clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the People by their Pulpit-Inflamations; and they stoutly discharged their trust.

But *Cromwell* had more cause to fear a fire in his own Quarters, and that he had raised a Spirit in the Army which would not easily be quieted again. The Agitators, who were first formed by him to oppose the Parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull Presbyterian humor of *Fairfax*; who wished nothing that *Cromwell* did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass: These Agitators, had hitherto transcribed faithfully all the Copies he had given them, and offered such Advices to the Parliament, and insisted upon such expostulations and demands, as were necessary, whilst there was either any purpose to treat with the King or any reason to flatter his Party. But now the King was gone from the Army; and in such a place as the Army could have no recourse to him, and that the Parliament was become of so soft a temper, that the Party of the Army that was in it, could make all necessary impression upon them, He desired to restrain the Agitators from that Liberty which they had so long enjoyed, and to keep them within stricter Rules of obedience to their Superiors, and to hinder their future Meetings, and Con-



**B O O K** consultations concerning the settling the Government of  
**I.** the Kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be solely left to the Parliament; whose Authority, for the present, he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be so dismissed from State-Affairs, of which they had so pleasant a relish; nor be at the mercy of the Parliament, which they had so much provoked; and therefore, when they were admitted no more to consultations with their Officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their Officers, as any part of the Church or State. They entered into new Associations, and made many Propositions to their Officers, and to the Parliament, to introduce an equality into all conditions, and a parity among all Men; from whence they had the Appellation of *Levellers*; which appeared a great Party. They did not only meet against the express Command of their Officers, but drew very considerable parties of the Army to Rendezvous, without the Order or Privy of their Superiors; and there persuaded them to enter into such Engagements, as would in a short time have dissolved the Government of the Army, and absolved them from a dependance upon their General-Officers. The suppression of this Licence, put *Cromwell* to the expense of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; so that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preservation of Their Authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some false Brothers to comply in the Counsels of the Conspirators, by that means having notice of their Rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an

ordinary Guard at those meetings ; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked some Questions of those whom he observed most active, and receiving insolent Answers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his Troop ; and took such a number of them as he thought fit ; whereof he presently caused some to be hanged, and sent others to *London* to a more formal Trial. By two or three such Encounters, for the obstinacy continued long, he totally subdued that Spirit in the Army, though it continued and increased very much in the Kingdom ; and if it had not been encountered at that time with that rough and brisk temper of *Cromwell*, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the Parliament, Army, and Kingdom.

B O O K  
X.

*Cromwell*  
suppresses a  
Tumult of the  
Levellers.

All opposition being thus suppressed and quieted, and *Cromwell* needing no other assistance to the carrying on his designs, than the present temper and inclination of the Parliament, they sent a Message to the King, briefly proposing to him, “ that he would “ forthwith grant his Royal Assent to four Acts of “ Parliament ;” which they then sent to him. By one of them, he was to confess the War to have been raised by him against the Parliament ; and so that he was guilty of all the Blood that had been spilt. By another, he was totally to dissolve the Government of the Church by Bishops, and to grant all the Lands belonging to the Church to such uses as they proposed ; leaving the settling a future Government in the place thereof to farther time and Counsels. By a third, he was to grant, and settle the Militia in the Manner

The Parlia-  
ment sends a  
Message to the  
King to pass  
four Acts.

**BOOK** and in the Persons proposed, reserving not so much  
**X.** power in himself as any Subject was capable of. In the last place, he was in effect, to sacrifice all those who had served, or adhered to him, to the Mercy of the Parliament.

The Persons who were sent with these four Bills, had liberty given to expect the King's Answer only four days, and were then required to return to the Parliament. With the Commissioners of Parliament there came likewise the Commissioners of *Scotland*, who, after the four Bills were delivered, and read to the King, the very next day, desired an Audience; and with much formality and confidence, delivered a Declaration, and Protestation on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland* against those Bills and Propositions. They said, "they were so prejudicial to Religion, the Crown, and the Union, and Interest of the Kingdoms, and so far different from the former proceedings and engagements between the two Kingdoms, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, in the name of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, did declare their dissent." The King had received Advertisement, that as soon as he should refuse to consent to the Bills, he should presently be made a close Prisoner, and all his Servants should be removed from him; upon which, and because the Commissioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his positive Answer, he resolved that his Answer should not be known till it was delivered to the Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his escape, before new Orders could be sent from *Westminster*: so when the

The Commis-  
 sioners of  
*Scotland* enter  
 a Protestation  
 against them.



Commissioners came to receive his Answer, he gave it to them sealed. The Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the chief of the Commissioners, and a Person very ungracious to the King told him, "that though they had no Authority to treat with him, or to do any thing but to receive his answer, yet they were not to be looked upon as Common Messengers," and to carry back an Answer that they had not seen: and, upon the matter, refused to receive it; and said, "they would return without any, except they might see what they carried."

BOOK  
X.  
The King  
gives his  
Answer to the  
Parliament-  
Commis-  
sioners.

His Majesty conceived that their return without his Answer would be attended with the worst consequences; and therefore he told them, "that he had some reason for having offered to deliver it to them in that manner; but if they would give him their words, that the Communicating it to them should be attended with no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cause it to be read," which they readily undertook (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it) and thereupon he opened it, and gave it one to read. The Answer was, "that his Majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty to comply in such a manner with all engaged Interests, that a firm and lasting Peace might ensue; in which opinion he was now confirmed, since the Commissioners for *Scotland* do solemnly protest against the several Bills, and Propositions, which the two Houses of Parliament had presented to him for his Assent; so that it was not possible for him to give such an Answer as might be the foundation of a hopeful Peace." He gave them many

**B O O K** unanswerable reasons "why he could not pass the four

**X.**

" Bills as they were offered to him; which did not  
 " only divest him of all Sovereignty, and leave him  
 " without any possibility of recovering it to him or  
 " his Successors, but opened a door for all intolerable  
 " oppressions upon his Subjects, he granting such an  
 " arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houses."  
 He told them, "that neither the desire of being freed  
 " from that tedious and irksome condition of Life,  
 " which he had so long suffered, nor the apprehension  
 " of any thing that might befall him, should ever  
 " prevail with him to consent to any one Act, till the  
 " conditions of the whole Peace should be concluded;  
 " and then that he would be ready to give all just and  
 " reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars; and for  
 " the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a per-  
 " sonal Treaty (and therefore very earnestly desired  
 " the two Houses to consent to it) to be either at  
 " London, or any other place they would rather  
 " chuse." As soon as this Answer, or to the same  
 effect, was read, he delivered it to the Commissioners;  
 who no sooner received it than they kissed his hand,  
 and departed for *Westminster*.

Presently af-  
 ter, Hammond  
 removes the  
 King's old  
 Servants from  
 about him.

The Commissioners were no sooner gone than  
*Hammond* caused all the King's Servants, who till then  
 had all Liberty to be with him, to be immediately put  
 out of the Castle; and forbid any of them to repair  
 thither any more; and appointed a strong Guard to  
 restrain any Body from going to the King, if they  
 should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled, and  
 surprised him, being an absolute disappointment of all  
 the hope he had left. He told *Hammond*, "that it

" was not suitable to his engagement, and that it did  
 " not become a Man of honor or honesty to treat him  
 " so, who had so freely put himself into his Hands."  
 He asked him, " whether the Commissioners were  
 " acquainted with his purpose to proceed in this  
 " manner?" to which he Answered, " that they were  
 " not; but that he had an Order from the Parliament  
 " to do as he had done; and that he saw plainly by  
 " his Answer to the Propositions, that he Acted  
 " by other Counsels than stood with the good of  
 " the Kingdom."

This insolent and imperious proceeding, put the  
 Island (which was generally inhabited by a People  
 always well affected to the Crown) into a high  
 Mutiny. They said, " they would not endure to see  
 " their King so used, and made a Prisoner." There  
 was at that time there one Captain *Burly*, who was of  
 a good Family in the Island. He had been a Captain  
 of one of the King's Ships, and was put out of his  
 Command when the Fleet Rebelled against the King;  
 and then he put himself into the King's Army, where  
 he continued an Officer of good Account to the end  
 of the War, and was in one of the King's Armies  
 General of the Ordnance. When the War was at an  
 end, he repaired into his own Country, the Isle of  
*Wight*; where many of his Family still lived in good  
 Reputation. This Gentleman chanced to be at *New-*  
*port*, the chief Town in the Island, when the King  
 was thus treated, and when the People seemed gene-  
 rally to resent it with so much indignation; and was  
 so much transported with the same fury, being a Man  
 of more Courage than of Prudence and Circumspec-

B O O K  
 X.

Thereupon  
 Captain *Burly*  
 stirs up the  
 People in the



**B O O K** tion, that he caused a Drum to be presently beaten,  
 X. and put himself at the head of the People who flocked  
 together, and cried "for God, the King, and the  
 " People;" and said, "he would lead them to the  
 " Castle, and rescue the King from his Captivity."  
 Island: but is quickly suppressed, condemned, and executed.

The attempt was presently discerned to be irrational, and impossible; and by the great diligence, and activity of the King's Servants, who had been put out of the Castle, the People were quieted, and all Men resorted to their own Houses; but the poor Gentleman paid dear for his ill advised and precipitate Loyalty. For *Hammond* caused him presently to be made Prisoner; and the Parliament, without delay, sent down a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*; in which an infamous Judge, *Wild*, whom they had made Chief-Baron of the Exchequer for such Services, presided; who caused poor *Burly* to be, with all formality, indicted of High-Treason for Levying War against the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War; of which the Jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon which their Judge condemned him, and the honest Man was forthwith hanged, drawn, and quartered, with all the circumstances of Barbarity and Cruelty; which struck a wonderful Terror into all Men, this being the first precedent of their having brought any Man to a formal Legal Trial by the Law to deprive him of his Life, and make him guilty of High-Treason for adhering to the King; and it made a deeper impression upon the hearts of all Men, than all the Cruelties they had yet exercised by their Courts of War; which, though they took away the Lives of many innocent Men, left their Estates to their Wives

and Children; but when they saw now, that they might be condemned of High-Treason before a sworn Judge of the Law for serving the King, by which their Estates would be likewise Confiscated, they thought they should be justified if they kept their Hearts entire, without being involved by their Actions in a Capital transgression.

Upon the receipt of the King's Answer, there appeared a new Spirit and Temper in the House of Commons; hitherto, no Man had mentioned the King's Person without Duty and Respect, and only lamented "that he was misled by evil and wicked Counsellors; who being removed from him, he might by the advice of his Parliament govern well enough." But now, upon the refusal to pass these Bills, every Man's mouth was opened against him with the utmost Sauciness, and Licence; each Man striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his Invective. *Cromwell* declared, "that the King was a Man of great parts, and great understanding" (faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without) "but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a Man, that he was not to be trusted." And thereupon, repeated many particulars, whilst he was in the Army, that his Majesty wished that such, and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: "that whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended only upon Their Wisdom and Counsel for the Settlement and Composing the Distractions of the King-

BOOK

X.

How the King's Answer is received by the Parliament, and *Cromwell's* Speech of the King thereupon.

BOOK “ dom. he had, at the same time, secret Treaties with  
 X “ the *Scottish* Commissioners, how he might embroil  
 “ the Nation in a new War, and destroy the Parlia-  
 “ ment. He concluded, that they might no farther  
 “ trouble themselves with sending Messages to him,  
 “ or farther Propositions, but that they might enter  
 “ upon those Counsels which were necessary towards  
 “ the Settlement of the Kingdom. without having  
 “ farther recourse to the King.” Those of his Party  
 seconded this advice with new Reproaches upon the  
 Person of the King, charging him with such abomin-  
 able Actions, as had been never heard of, and could  
 be only suggested from the malice of their own  
 Hearts; whilst Men who had any Modesty, and  
 abhorred that way of proceeding, stood amazed and  
 confounded at the manner and presumption of it, and  
 without Courage to give any notable opposition to  
 their Rage. So that, after several days spent in passi-  
 onate debates to this purpose, they Voted “ that they  
 “ would make no more Addresses to the King, but  
 “ proceed towards settling the Government, and  
 “ providing for the Peace of the Kingdom, in such  
 “ manner as they should judge best for the benefit  
 “ and liberty of the Subject:” and a Committee was  
 appointed to prepare a Declaration to inform and  
 satisfy the People of this their Resolution, and the  
 grounds thereof, and to assure them, “ that they had  
 “ Lawful Authority to proceed in this manner.” In  
 the mean time, the King, who had, from the time of  
 his coming to the Isle of *Wight*, enjoyed the liberty  
 of taking the Air, and refreshing himself throughout  
 the Island, and was attended by such Servants as he

Vote of no  
 more Ad-  
 dresses to the  
 King, etc.



had appointed, or sent for, to come thither to him, to the time that he had refused to pass those Bills, from thenceforth was no more suffered to go out of the Castle beyond a little ill Garden that belonged to it. And now, after this Vote of the House of Commons, that there should be no more Addresses made to him, all his Servants being removed, a few new Men, for the most part, unknown to his Majesty, were deputed to be about his Person to perform all those Offices which they believed might be requisite, and of whose Fidelity to themselves they were as well assured, as that they were without any reverence or affection for the King.

It is very true, that within few days after the King's withdrawing from *Hampton-Court*, and after it was known that he was in the Isle of *Wight*, there was a meeting of the General-Officers of the Army at *Windfor*; where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were present, to consult what should be done with the King. For, though *Cromwell* was weary of the Agitators, and resolved to break their meetings, and though the Parliament concurred in all he desired, yet his entire confidence was in the Officers of the Army; who were they who swayed the Parliament, and the Army itself, to bring what he intended to pass. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always Fastings and Prayers, made at the very Council by *Cromwell* or *Ireton*, or some other *Inspired* Person, as most of the Officers were, it was resolved "that the King should be prosecuted for his Life as a Criminal Person:" of which his Majesty was advertised speedily by *Watson*, Quarter-Master-General of the Army; who

A meeting of  
Cromwell and  
the Officers at  
Windfor,  
wherein they  
design the  
King's  
Destruction.

**B O O K** was present; and had pretended, from the first coming  
**x.** of the King to the Army, to have a desire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain it; but the Resolution was a great secret, of which the Parliament had not the least intimation, or jealousy; but was, as it had been, to be cozened by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his Majesty easily persuaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would Murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the People know their Intentions. The great approach they made towards it, was, their Declaration "that they would make no more Addresses to the King," that by an Interregnum they might feel the pulse of the People, and discover how they would submit to another form of Government; and yet all Writs, and Process of Justice, and all Commissions, still issued in the King's Name without his consent or privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the King himself, and by his immediate Order, was now performed by the Parliament; and, instead of Acts of Parliament, they made Ordinances of the two Houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same Obedience from the People.

The Vote of  
 no more Ad-  
 dresses se-  
 conded by a  
 Declaration.

This Declaration of no more Addresses, contained a charge against the King of whatsoever had been done amiss from the beginning of his Government, or before, not without a direct Insinuation, as if "He  
 " had conspired with the Duke of *Buckingham* against  
 " the life of his Father; the prejudice he had brought  
 " upon the Protestant Religion in Foreign parts, by

“ lending his Ships to the King of *France*, who employed them against *Rochelle*:” they renewed the remembrance, and reproach of all those grievances which had been mentioned in their first Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contained in all their Declarations before and after the War; which had been all so fully Answered by his Majesty, that the world was convinced of their Rebellion and Treason: they charged him with being “ the cause of all the blood “ that had been spilt, by his having made a War upon “ his Parliament, and rejecting all Overtures of Peace “ which had been made to him; and in regard of all “ these things, they resolved to make no more Address to him, but, by their own Authority, to provide for the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.”

This Declaration found much opposition in the House of Commons, in respect of the particular reproaches they had now cast upon the Person of the King, which they had heretofore, in their own published Declarations to the People, charged upon the evil Counsellors, and Persons about him; and some Persons had been sentenced, and condemned for those very crimes which they now accused his Majesty of. But there was much more exception to their conclusion from those premises, that therefore they would address themselves no more to him; and *John Maynard*, a Member of the House, and a Lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular, and unjust proceedings, after he had with great vehemence opposed, and contradicted the most odious Parts of their Declaration, told them

Mr. Maynard's  
Argument  
against it



BOOK plainly, " that by this resolution of making no more  
 X. " Addreffes to the King, they did, as far as in Them  
 " lay, dissolve the Parliament; and that, from the time  
 " of that determination, he knew not with what  
 " security in point of Law, they could meet together,  
 " or any Man join with them in their Counfels: That  
 " it was of the Effence of Parliament, that they should  
 " upon all occasions repair to the King; and that his  
 " Majesty's refusal at any time to receive their Peti-  
 " tions, or to admit their Addreffes, had been always  
 " held the higheft breach of their Privilege, because  
 " it tended to their dissolution without diffolving  
 " them; and therefore if they should now, on their  
 " parts, determine that they would receive no more  
 " Messages from him ( which was likewise a part of  
 " their Declaration ) nor make any more addrefs to  
 " him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they  
 " were no longer a Parliament; and then, how could  
 " the People look upon them as fuch ? " This Argu-  
 mentation being boldly preffed by a Man of that  
 Learning and Authority, who had very feldom not  
 been believed, made a great impreffion upon all Men  
 who had not prostituted themselves to *Cromwell*, and  
 his Party. But the other fide meant not to maintain  
 their resolution by difcourfes, well knowing where  
 their ftrength lay; and fo ftill called for the Queftion;  
 which was carried by a plurality of Voices, as they  
 forefaw it would; very many Perfons who abhorred  
 the determination, not having Courage to provoke  
 the powerful Men by owning their difsent; others,  
 fatisfying themselves with the resolution to withdraw  
 themselves, and to bear no farther part in the Counfels;  
 which

which *Maynard* himself did; and came no more to the House in very many Months, nor till there seemed to be such an alteration in the minds of Men, that there would be a reversal of that monstrous determination; and many others did the same. B O O K  
X.

When this Declaration was thus passed the Commons, and by them sent to the House of Peers for their concurrence, the Manner or the Matter was of that importance as to need much Debate; but, with as little formality as was possible, it had the concurrence of that House, and was immediately Printed, and published, and new Orders sent to the Isle of *Wight*, for the more strict looking to, and guarding the King, that he might not escape.

The publishing this Declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the People, from what they expected it would produce; and it appeared to be so publicly detested, that many who had served the Parliament in several unwarrantable Employments and Commissions, from the beginning of the War, in the City and in the Country, withdrew themselves from the Service of the Parliament; and much inveighed against it, for declining all the Principles upon which they had engaged them. Many private Persons took upon them to publish Answers to that Declaration, that, the King himself being under so strict a restraint that he could make no Answer, the People might not be poisoned with the belief of it. And the several Answers of this kind wrought very much upon the People, who opened their Mouths very loud against the Parliament and the Army; and the clamor was increased by the increase of Taxes,

**B O O K** and Impositions, which were raised by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the Kingdom; and though they were so entirely possessed of the whole Kingdom, and the Forces and Garrisons thereof, that they had no Enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their Army; and notwithstanding they raised incredible Sums of Money, upon the Sale of the Church and the Crown-Lands; for which they found Purchasers enough amongst their own Party in the City, Army, and Country. and upon composition with Delinquents, and the sale of their Lands who refused, or could not be admitted, to compound (which few refused to do who could be admitted, in regard that their Estates were all under Sequestration, and the Rents thereof paid to the Parliament, so that till they compounded they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and necessities, and were compelled to make their Compositions, at how unreasonable rates soever, that they might thereby be enabled to sell some part, to preserve the rest, and their Houses from being pulled down, and their Woods from being wasted or spoiled) Notwithstanding all these vast receipts, which they ever pretended should ease the People of their Burden, and should suffice to pay the Army their expenses at Sea, and Land. their debts were so great, that they raised the public Taxes: and, besides all Customs, and Excise, they Levied a Monthly Contribution of above a hundred thousand pounds by a Land-Tax throughout the Kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no Enemy who contended

with them, was an Evidence that it would have no end, and that the Army was still to be kept up, to make good the resolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the King; and that made the resolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more insupportable, by reason that upon the publishing this last monstrous Declaration, most of those Persons of condition, who, as hath been said before, had been seduced to do them Service throughout the Kingdom, declined to appear longer in so detestable an employment; and now a more inferior sort of the common People succeeded in those employments, who thereby exercised so great insolence over those who were in Quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumstances be what they would, no redress could be ever obtained, all distinction of Quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior Constables, six or seven years before, were now the Justices of Peace, and Sequestrators, and Commissioners; who executed the Commands of the Parliament, in all the Counties of the Kingdom, with such rigor and Tyranny, as was natural for such Persons to use over and towards those upon whom they had formerly looked at such a distance. But let their sufferings be never so great, and the murmur and discontent never so general, there was no shadow of hope by which they might discern any possible relief: so that they who had struggled as long as they were able, submitted patiently to the Yoke, with the more satisfaction, in that they saw many of those who had been the principal Contrivers



BOOK of all the mischiefs to satisfy their own Ambition, and  
 x. that they might govern others, reduced to almost as ill  
 a condition as themselves, at least to as little Power,  
 and Authority, and Security; whilst the whole Go-  
 vernment of the Nation remained, upon the matter,  
 wholly in Their hands who in the beginning of the  
 Parliament were scarce ever heard of, or their names  
 known but in the places where they inhabited.

The King being in this melancholic neglected Con-  
 dition, and the Kingdom possessed by the new Rulers,  
 without control, in the new method of Government,  
 where every thing was done, and submitted to, which  
 they propounded, they yet found that there was no  
 foundation laid for their Peace, and future Security;  
 that beside the general discontent of the Nation,  
 which for the present they did not fear, they were to  
 expect new Troubles from *Ireland*, and from *Scot-*  
*land*; which would, in the Progress, have an influence  
 upon *England*.

The Affairs  
 of Ireland.

In *Ireland* ( which they had totally neglected from  
 the time of the differences and contests between the  
 Parliament and the Army, and from the King's being  
 in the Army ) though they were possessed of *Dublin*,  
 and, upon the matter, of the whole Province of  
*Munster*, by the activity of the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the  
 Lord *Broghill*; yet the *Irish* Rebels had very great  
 Forces, which covered all the other parts of the King-  
 dom. But they had no kind of fears of the *Irish*,  
 whom they vanquished as often as they saw, and never  
 declined fighting upon any inequality of Number:  
 they had an apprehension of another Enemy. The  
 Marquis of *Ormond* had often attended the King at

*Hampton-Court*, and had great resort to him, whilst he stayed in *London*, by all those who had served the King, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfied with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the Army, and by the *Scottish* Commissioners, who had frequently private Meetings with him; insomuch as the Officers of the Army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant Acts of power, had resolved to have apprehended and imprisoned him, as a Man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his Articles, he had liberty to stay six Months where he would in *England* (which time was little more than half expired) and then he might Transport himself into what part he desired beyond the Seas. The Marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having conferred with his Majesty as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that the King left *Hampton-Court*, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one Servant, rid into *Sussex*; and in an obscure and unguarded Port or Harbour, put himself on board a Shallop, which safely Transported him into *Normandy*; from whence he waited upon the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, at *Paris*; to whom he could not but be very welcome.

The Marquis  
of Ormond  
transports  
himself out  
of England  
into France.

At the same time, there were Commissioners arrived from *Ireland* from the Confederate Roman Catholics; who, after they had driven the King's Authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The Factions grew so great amongst the *Irish* themselves, and the Pope's Nuntio

**B O O K** exercised his Authority with so great Tyranny and Insolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the Parliament, as soon as they should find more Forces over, would easily, by reason of their divisions, reduce them into great straits, and necessities. They therefore sent Commissioners to the Queen and Prince to desire, "that by their favor, they might have the " King's Authority again among them;" to which they promised, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgments of their former anscarriage and ill behaviour. It is very true that the Marquis of *Aurim*, who was one of the Commissioners, and was always inseparable from the highest Ambition (though without any Qualifications for any great Trust) had entertained the hope, that by the Queen's favor, who had too good an opinion of him, the Government of *Ireland* should be committed to Him, and his Conduct; which none of the other Commissioners thought of, nor had their Eyes fixed on any Man but the Marquis of *Ormond*, in whom the King's Authority was vested; for he remained still Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the King's Commission; and they had reason to believe that all the *English* Protestants, who had formerly lived under his Government (without a conjunction with whom, they well foresaw the *Irish* would not be able to defend or preserve themselves) would return to the same obedience, as soon as he should return to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not of trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult Employment, and so referred the Commissioners to make all their Overtures, and Propositions to him; who knew well enough,

what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted soever he was to the King's Service, nothing proposed or undertaken by them, could have been the least inducement to him to engage himself, and to depend upon their Fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire Zeal for the King's Service, to which he had dedicated himself, made him believe that he might with some success appear again in that Kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his so doing, might have a good effect upon the temper of *England* towards the mending his Majesty's Condition there.

First, the Cardinal *Mazarin* (who then absolutely governed *France*) seemed very earnestly to advise it, and promised to supply him with a good Sum of Money, and store of Arms and Ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to dispose of there. Secondly, he was privy to the *Scottish* Engagement, and to a resolution of many Persons of great Honor in *England*, to appear in Arms at the same time; which was designed for the Summer following, whereby the Parliament, and Army, which were like to have new divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send any considerable Supplies into *Ireland*; without which, their Power there, was not like to be Formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater Encouragement than the other two, he had, during his abode in *England*, held a close correspondence with the Lord *Inchiquin*, President of the Province of *Munster* in *Ireland*, who had the full Power and Command of all the *English* Army there; which was a

B O O K  
X.

The Reasons  
that moved  
the Marquis  
to go again  
into Ireland.



BOOK X, better Body of Men than the Parliament had in any other part of that Kingdom. That Lord was weary of his Masters, and did not think the Service he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole Kingdom had been united to his Majesty's Service) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the Proceedings of the Parliament, and Army, towards the King; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with exposing all he had for his Majesty's Restoration; and had frankly promised the Marquis to receive him into *Munster*, as the King's Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and that That whole Province, and Army, should pay him all Obedience, and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a Cessation with the *Irish* in Order to a firm conjunction of that whole Kingdom for the King. After the Marquis came into *France*, he received still Letters from that Lord to hasten his Journey thither.

These were the Motives which disposed the Marquis to comply with the Queen's, and the Prince's Command to prepare himself for that Expedition; and so he concerted all things with the *Irish* Commissioners; who returned into their Country, with promises to dispose their General Assembly to consent to those Conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

The Parliament had too many Spies, and Agents at *Paris*, not to be informed of whatsoever was whispered there; but whether they undervalued any

conjunction with the *Irish* (for of the Lord *Inchiquin* they had no suspicion) or were confident of the Cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they were not so apprehensive of Trouble from *Ireland* as they were of their Brethren from *Scotland*; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a Parliament, and to raise an Army; which, they believed, would find too many Friends in *England*, the Presbyterian Party holding up their Heads again, both in the Parliament, and the City. Besides, they knew that some Persons of Quality and Interest, who had served the King in good Command in the late War, were gone into *Scotland*, and well received there; which, they thought, would draw the King's Party together upon the first appearance.

After the King had been so infamously delivered up to the Parliament by the *Scots* at *New-Castle*, and as soon as the Army had possessed themselves of him, that Nation was in terrible Apprehension that the Officers of the Army would have made their Peace, and established their own greatness by restoring the King to his just Rights, of which they had so foully deprived him; and then the conscience of their guilt made them presume, what Their Lot must be; and therefore, the same Commissioners who had been joined with the Committee of Parliament in all the Transactions, made haste to *Westminster* again to their old Seats, to keep their Interest; which was great in all the Presbyterian Party, both of Parliament and City; for there remained still the same profession of maintaining the strict Union between the two King-

**B O O K**  
**X.** doms, and that all Transactions should be by joint Counsels. And as soon as the King appeared with some show of Liberty, and his own Servants had leave to attend him, no Men appeared with more confidence than the *Scottish* Commissioners; the Earl of *Lowden*, the Earl of *Lautherdale* and the rest; as if they had been the Men who had contrived his Restoration: No Men in so frequent Whispers with the King; and they found some way to get themselves so much believed by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent Correspondence, that her Majesty very earnestly persuaded the King “to trust them, as the only Persons-  
 “ who had Power and Credit to do him Service, and  
 “ to redeem him from the Captivity he was in.” Duke *Hamilton*, who had been sent Prisoner by the King to the Castle of *Pendennis*, and had been delivered from thence by the Army, when that place was taken in the end of the War, had enjoyed his Liberty at *London*, and in his own House at *Chelsea*, as long as he thought fit, that is, near as long as the King was with the *Scottish* Army and at *New-Castle*; and some time before his Majesty was delivered up to the Parliament-Commissioners, he went into *Scotland* to his own House at *Hamilton*; looked upon by that Nation as one who had unjustly suffered under the King’s Jealousy, and displeasure, and who remained still very faithful to him; and during the time that he remained in and about *London*, he found means to converse with many of the King’s Party, and made great professions that he would do the King a very signal Service, which he desired them to assure his Majesty of; and seemed exceedingly troubled and ashamed

Duke Hamilton goes into Scotland.

at his Country-Men's giving up the King. His having no share in that infamy made him the more trusted in *England*, and to be received with the more respect in *Scotland* by all those who abhorred that Transaction.

The Commissioners who attended his Majesty, made great Apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "malice and power of the  
" Marquis of *Argyle*, and to his Credit, and Authority  
" in the Council, and in the Army; so that nothing  
" could be done which was desired by honest Men;  
" but that now Duke *Hamilton* was amongst them,  
" who they knew was most devoted to his Majesty,  
" they should be able to over-power *Argyle*; and the  
" proceedings of the Army and the Parliament, were  
" so foul, and so contrary to their public Faith, that  
" they were confident that all *Scotland* would rise as  
" one Man for his Majesty's defence and vindication;  
" and they were well assured, there would such a  
" Party in *England* of those who were faithful to his  
" Majesty, appear at the same time, that there would  
" be little Question of being able, between them, to  
" be hard enough for that part of the Army that  
" would oppose them;" which his Majesty knew well was resolved by many Persons of Honor, who afterwards performed what they had promised.

When the Commissioners had, by these Insinuations, gained new credit with the King, and had undertaken, that their invading *England* with an Army equal to the undertaking, should be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend (for no attempt in *England* could be reasonable before such an Invasion, which was likewise to be hastened,



BOOK that it might be at the same time when the Marquis  
 X. of Ormond should appear in *Ireland*) they begun to  
 The Commis- propose many conditions, which would be necessary  
 sioners of for his Majesty to engage himself to perform towards  
 Scotland's that Nation; without which it would not be easy to  
 private Treaty induce it into so unanimous a consent and engage-  
 with the King ment, as was necessary for such an enterprize. They  
 at Hampton- Court required, as a thing without which nothing was to  
 be undertaken. "that the Prince of *Wales* should be  
 " present with them, and march in the head of their  
 " Army; and desired that A lvertisement, and order,  
 " might be sent to that purpose to the Queen, and  
 " the Prince, at *Paris*; that so his Highness might be  
 " ready for the Voyage, as soon as they should be  
 " prepared to receive him." The King would by no  
 means consent that the Prince should go into *Scotland*,  
 being too well acquainted with the manners and  
 fidelity of that Party there; but he was contented,  
 that when they should have entered *England* with  
 their Army, then the Prince of *Wales* should put  
 himself in the head of them. They demanded, "that  
 " such a Number of *Scots*-men should be always in  
 " the Court, of the Bed-Chamber, and all other  
 " places about the Persons of the King, and Prince,  
 " and Duke of *York*: that *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, should  
 " be put into the hands of the *Scots*;" and some other  
 concessions with reference to the Northern Counties;  
 which trenched so far upon the Honor and Interest of  
 the *English*, that his Majesty utterly refused to con-  
 sent to it; and so the Agreement was not concluded  
 when the King left *Hampton-Court*. But, as soon as  
 he was at the Isle of *Wight*, the *Scottish* Commissioners

repaired to him, at the same time with those who were sent to him from the Parliament for his Royal Assent to those four Bills spoken of before; then, in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to Sign the Propositions he had formerly refused; and, having great apprehension from the Jealousies they knew the Army had of them, that they should be seized upon, and searched in their return to *London*, they made up their precious Contract in Lead and buried it in a Garden in the Isle of *Wight*; from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it. So constant were those Men to their Principles, and so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their Allegiance; to which neither Conscience nor Honor did invite or dispose them. So after a stay of some Months at *London* to adjust all Accounts, and receive the remainder of those Monies they had so dearly earned, or so much of it as they had hope would be paid, they returned to *Scotland*, with the hatred and contempt of the Army, and the Parliament, that was then governed by it; but with the veneration of the Presbyterian Party, which still had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future Negotiation; which was now incumbent upon them: and in order thereunto, a fast intercourse and correspondence was settled, as well by constant Letters, as by frequent Emissaries of their Clergy, or other Persons, whose devotion to their Combination was unquestionable.

It can never be enough wondered at that the *Scottish* Presbyterians, being a watchful and crafty People, the principal of whom were as unrestrained by Con-

B O O K

L.

Which Treaty  
was renewed  
and He signed  
it at the Isle  
of Wight.

BOOK II. science as any of the Officers of the Army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their Interest by such conditions, and limitations, as all wise Men saw must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the Spirit of their own People, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous Army enough together, yet that being together, it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their chief dependance was upon the Assistance they should find ready to join with them in *England*. It is true, they did believe the Body of the Presbyterians in *England* to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the most considerable Persons who in the contest with the other Faction were content to be thought Presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the King; which they more impatiently desired, than any alteration in the Government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the Royal Party, upon whose Interest, Conduct, and Courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the *Scots*; who did publicly profess that all the King's Friends should be most welcome, and received by them; nor did they trust any one Presbyterian in *England* with the knowledge of the Particulars contained in the Agreement with the King; but concealed it between the three Persons who transacted it; and if it had been known, *Cromwell* might as easily have over-run the Country before their Army invaded *England*, as he did afterwards; nor would one *English-Man* have

joined with them. Besides the infamous Circumstances by which they extorted Concessions from the King, which would have rendered any Contract odious (it being made in those four days, which were all that were assigned both to the *English* and *Scottish* Commissioners, so that his Majesty had not only no time to advise with others, but could not advise with Himself upon so many monstrous particulars as were demanded of him by both Kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more Then have submitted to them, than he did afterwards upon long deliberation, and when his life appeared to be in more manifest danger by his refusal) the particulars themselves were the most scandalous, and derogatory to the honor and interest of the *English* Nation; and would have been abominated, if known and understood, by all Men, with all possible indignation.

After they had made his Majesty give a good Testimony of their League and Covenant, in the presence of their Agreement, and "that the Intentions of those who had entered into it, were really for the preservation of his Majesty's Person and Authority, according to their Allegiance, and no ways to diminish his just power and greatness, they obliged him as soon as he could, with Freedom, Honor, and Safety, be present in a free Parliament, to confirm the said League and Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for the security of all who had taken, or should take it." It is true, they admitted a Proviso, "that none who was unwilling, should be constrained to take it." They likewise obliged his Majesty "to confirm by Act of Parlia-

BOOK

X.

The substance  
of the Treaty  
Signed the 26.  
of Dec. 1647.



BOOK I.  
 Z. ment in *England*, Presbyterian Government; the  
 “ Directory for worship; and the Assembly of Di-  
 “ vines at *Westminster*, for three years, so that his Ma-  
 “ jesty, and his Household, should not be hindered  
 “ from using that form of Divine Service he had for-  
 “ merly practised; and that during those three years  
 “ there should be a Consultation with the Assembly  
 “ of Divines, to which twenty of the King’s nomina-  
 “ tion should be added, and some from the Church  
 “ of *Scotland*; and thereupon it should be determined  
 “ by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament,  
 “ what form of Government should be established  
 “ after the expiration of those years, as should be most  
 “ agreeable to the word of God: that an effectual  
 “ course should be taken by Act of Parliament, and  
 “ all other ways needful or expedient, for the suppress-  
 “ sing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians,  
 “ Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists,  
 “ Antinomians, Arminians, Familyists, Brownists,  
 “ Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers,  
 “ and, generally, for the suppressing all Blasphemy,  
 “ Heresy, Schism, and all such scandalous Doctrines  
 “ and Practices as are contrary to the light of Nature,  
 “ and to the known Principles of Christianity whether  
 “ concerning Faith, Worship, or Conversation, or  
 “ the power of Godliness, or which may be destruc-  
 “ tive to Order and Government, or to the Peace of  
 “ the Church or Kingdom.” The King promised,  
 “ that in the next Session of Parliament, after the  
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland* should declare for his Majesty,  
 “ in pursuance of this Agreement, he should in Per-  
 “ son, or by Commission, confirm the League and  
 “ Covenant

“ Covenant in that Kingdom; and concerning all  
 “ the Acts passed in the last Parliament of that King-  
 “ dom,” his Majesty declared, “ that he should then  
 “ likewise be content to give assurance by Act of  
 “ Parliament, that neither He, nor his Successors,  
 “ should Quarrel, call in Question, or command the  
 “ contrary of any of them, nor question any for  
 “ giving obedience to the same.” Then they made a  
 long recital of “ the agreement the Parliament of  
 “ *England* had made, when the *Scots-Army* returned  
 “ to *Scotland*, that the Army under *Fairfax* should be  
 “ disbanded; and of that Army’s submitting there-  
 “ unto; of their taking the King from *Holmby*, and  
 “ keeping him Prisoner till he fled from them to the  
 “ Isle of *Wight*; and since that time both his Majesty,  
 “ and the Commissioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*,  
 “ had very earnestly desired that the King might  
 “ come to *London*, in safety, honor, and freedom, for  
 “ a Personal Treaty with the two Houses and the  
 “ Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*;  
 “ which, they said, had been granted, but that the  
 “ Army had, in violent manner, forced away divers  
 “ Members of the Parliament from the discharge of  
 “ their trust, and possessed themselves of the City of  
 “ *London*, and all the strengths, and Garrisons of the  
 “ Kingdoms: And that by the strength, and influence  
 “ of that Army, and their adherents, Propositions  
 “ and Bills had been sent to the King without the  
 “ advice and consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*,  
 “ contrary to the Treaties which are between the  
 “ two Kingdoms, and destructive to Religion, his  
 “ Majesty’s just Rights, the Privileges of Parliament,

B O O K “ and Liberty of the Subject; from which Proposi-  
 X. “ tions, and Bills, the *Scottish* Commissioners had  
 “ dissented, and protested against, in the name of the  
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland*!

After this preamble, and recital, they said, “ that  
 “ forasmuch as his Majesty is willing to give satis-  
 “ faction concerning the settling Religion, and other  
 “ matters in difference, as is expressed in this agree-  
 “ ment, the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth oblige and  
 “ engage itself, first, in a peaceable way and manner  
 “ to endeavour that the King may come to *London*  
 “ in safety, honor, and freedom, for a Personal Treaty  
 “ with the Houses of Parliament and the Commis-  
 “ sioners of *Scotland*, upon such Propositions as  
 “ should be mutually agreed on between the King-  
 “ doms, and such Propositions as his Majesty should  
 “ think fit to make; and for this end all Armies  
 “ should be disbanded; and in case that this should  
 “ not be granted, that Declarations should be emitted  
 “ by the Kingdom of *Scotland* in pursuance of this  
 “ agreement, against the unjust proceedings of the  
 “ two Houses of Parliament towards his Majesty and  
 “ the Kingdom of *Scotland*; in which they would  
 “ assert the Right that belonged to the Crown, in the  
 “ power of the Militia, the Great-Seal, bestowing  
 “ of Honors and Offices of trust, choice of the Privy-  
 “ Counsellors, and the Right of the King's Negative  
 “ Voice in Parliament: And that the Queen's Majesty,  
 “ the Prince, and the rest of the Royal Issue, ought  
 “ to remain where his Majesty shall think fit in either  
 “ of his King doms, with safety, honor, and freedom:  
 “ That, upon the issuing out this Declaration, an

" Army should be sent out of *Scotland* into *England*,  
 " for the preservation, and establishment of Religion;  
 " for defence of his Majesty's Person, and Authority,  
 " and restoring him to his Government, to the just  
 " Rights of the Crown, and his full Revenues; for  
 " defence of the Privileges of Parliament, and Liber-  
 " ties of the Subject; for making a firm Union be-  
 " tween the Kingdoms under his Majesty, and his  
 " Posterity, and settling a lasting Peace." In pursuance  
 whereof, the Kingdom of *Scotland* was to endeavour  
 " that there might be a free and full Parliament in  
 " *England*, and that his Majesty may be with them in  
 " honor, safety, and freedom; and that a speedy  
 " period be set to the present Parliament. And they  
 " undertook, that the Army which they would raise,  
 " should be upon its march, before the Message and  
 " Declaration should be delivered to the Houses." It  
 was farther agreed, " that all such in the Kingdoms  
 " of *England*, and *Ireland*, as would join with the  
 " Kingdom of *Scotland* in pursuance of this Agree-  
 " ment, should be protected by his Majesty in their  
 " Persons, and Estates; and that all his Majesty's  
 " Subjects in *England* or *Ireland* who would join  
 " with him, in pursuance of this Agreement, might  
 " come to the *Scottish* Army, and join with them, or  
 " else put themselves into other Bodies in *England*  
 " or *Wales*, for prosecution of the same ends, as the  
 " King's Majesty should judge most convenient, and  
 " under such Commanders, or Generals of the *English*  
 " Nation, as his Majesty should think fit: And that  
 " all such should be protected by the Kingdom of  
 " *Scotland*, and their Army, in their Persons and



BOOK

X.

“ Estates; and where any injury or wrong is done  
 “ unto them, they would be careful to see them fully  
 “ repaired, as far as it should be in their power to  
 “ do; and likewise when any injury or wrong is done  
 “ to those who join with the Kingdom of *Scotland*,  
 “ his Majesty shall be careful of their full reparation.  
 They obliged his Majesty to promise “ that neither  
 “ himself, nor any by his Authority or Knowledge,  
 “ should make or admit of any Cessation, Pacification,  
 “ or Agreement whatsoever for Peace. nor of any  
 “ Treaty, Propositions, Bills, or any other ways for  
 “ that end, with the Houses of Parliament, or any  
 “ Army or Party in *England*, or *Ireland*, without the  
 “ advice and consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*;  
 “ and reciprocally, that neither the Kingdom of  
 “ *Scotland*, nor any having their Authority, should  
 “ make or admit of any of these any manner of way,  
 “ with any whatsoever, without his Majesty’s advice  
 “ or consent: And that, upon the settlement of a  
 “ Peace, there should be an Act of Oblivion to be  
 “ agreed on by his Majesty, and both his Parliaments  
 “ of both Kingdoms: That his Majesty, the Prince,  
 “ or both, should come into *Scotland* upon the invita-  
 “ tion of that Kingdom, and their Declaration, that  
 “ they should be in honor, freedom, and safety, when  
 “ possibly they could come with safety, and con-  
 “ venience; and that the King should contribute his  
 “ utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad, for  
 “ assisting the Kingdom of *Scotland* for carrying on  
 “ this War by Sea and Land, and for their Supplies  
 “ by Monies, Arms, Ammunition, and all other  
 “ things requisite, as also for guarding the Coasts of

“ *Scotland* with Ships, and protecting all their Mer-  
 “ chants in the free exercise of their Trade and Com-  
 “ merce with other Nations: and likewise that his  
 “ Majesty was willing, and did Authorize the *Scottish*  
 “ Army to possess themselves of *Berwick, Carlisle,*  
 “ *New-Castle upon Tyne,* with the Castle of *Tinmouth,*  
 “ and the Town of *Hartlepool*: those places to be for  
 “ Retreat, and Magazines; and that, when the Peace  
 “ of the Kingdom should be settled, the Kingdom  
 “ of *Scotland* should remove their Forces, and deliver  
 “ back again those Towns and Castles.”

And as if all this had not been recompence enough  
 for the wonderful Service they were like to perform,  
 they obliged the King to promise and undertake to  
 pay, the remainder of that Brotherly Assistance which  
 was yet unpaid upon the large Treaty after their first  
 invasion of *England*, and likewise two hundred thou-  
 sand pounds, which remained still due upon the last  
 Treaty made with the Houses of Parliament for return  
 of the *Scottish* Army, when they had delivered up the  
 King; and also, “ that payment should be made to  
 “ the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for the charge, and ex-  
 “ pence of their Army in this future War, with due  
 “ recompence for the losses which they should sustain  
 “ therein; and that due satisfaction, according to the  
 “ Treaty on that behalf betwixt the two Kingdoms,  
 “ should be made to the *Scottish* Army in *Ireland*, out  
 “ of the Lands of the Kingdom, or otherwise: And  
 “ that the King, according to the Intention of his  
 “ Father, should endeavour a complete Union of  
 “ the two Kingdoms, so as they may be one under  
 “ his Majesty, and his Posterity; or if that cannot

BOOK

X

“ speedily be effected, that all Liberties and Privi-  
 “ lages, concerning Commerce, Traffick, Manufac-  
 “ tures, peculiar to the Subjects of either Nation,  
 “ shall be common to the Subjects of both Kingdoms  
 “ without distinction, and that there be a Communi-  
 “ tion, and mutual capacity, of all other Liberties of  
 “ the Subjects in the two Kingdoms: That a com-  
 “ petent Number of Ships should be yearly assigned,  
 “ and appointed out of his Majesty’s Navy, which  
 “ should attend the Coasts of *Scotland*, for a Guard,  
 “ and freedom of Trade of that Nation: and that his  
 “ Majesty should declare that his Successors, as well  
 “ as Himself, are obliged to the performance of the  
 “ Articles, and Conditions of this Agreement: but  
 “ that his Majesty shall not be obliged to the perfor-  
 “ mance of the aforesaid Articles until the Kingdom  
 “ of *Scotland* shall declare for him in pursuance of this  
 “ Agreement; and that the whole Articles, and  
 “ Conditions aforesaid, shall be finished, perfected,  
 “ and performed, before the return of the *Scottish*  
 “ Army; and that when they return into *Scotland*,  
 “ at the same time, *simul & semel*, all Armies should  
 “ be disbanded in *England*.” And for a compliment,  
 and to give a relish to all the rest, the King engaged  
 himself “ to employ those of the *Scottish* Nation equally  
 “ with the *English* in all Foreign Employments, and  
 “ Negotiations; and that a third part of all the Offices  
 “ and Places about the King, Queen, and Prince,  
 “ should be conferred upon some Persons of that  
 “ Nation; and that the King and Prince, or one of  
 “ them, will frequently reside in *Scotland*, that the  
 “ Subjects of that Kingdom may be known to them.”

B O O K

X.

This Treaty and Agreement being thus presented to the King by the *Scottish* Commissioners in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, his Majesty was prevailed with to sign the same the 26<sup>th</sup> day of *December* 1647; and to oblige himself, “in the word of a King, to perform His part  
“ of the said Articles;” and the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the Earl of *Laurick*, being intrusted as Commissioners from that Kingdom, signed it likewise at the same time; and engaged themselves “upon their Honor,  
“ Faith, and Conscience, and all that is dear to honest  
“ Men, to endeavour to the utmost of their power,  
“ that the Kingdom of *Scotland* should engage to  
“ perform what was on its part to be performed;  
“ which they were confident the Kingdom of *Scotland*  
“ would do, and they themselves would hazard their  
“ Lives and Fortunes in pursuance thereof.

No Man who reads this Treaty (which very few Men have ever done) can wonder that such an Engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contained so many monstrous Concessions, that except the whole Kingdom of *England* had been likewise imprisoned in *Carisbrooke*-Castle with the King, it could not be imagined that it was possible to be performed; and the three Persons who were Parties to it, were too wise to believe that it could be punctually observed; which they used as the best Argument, and which only prevailed with the King, “that the  
“ Treaty was only made to enable them to engage  
“ the Kingdom of *Scotland* to raise an Army, and to  
“ unite it in his Majesty's Service; which lest than  
“ those Concessions would never induce them to do;



BOOK

X.

“ but when that Army should be entered into *Eng-  
land*, and so many other Armies should be on foot  
“ of his *English* Subjects for the vindication of his  
“ Interest, there would be no body to exact all those  
“ particulars; but every body would submit to what  
“ his Majesty should think fit to be done;” which,  
though it had been urged more than once before to  
induce the King to consent to other inconveniencies,  
which they would never after release to him, did pre-  
vail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in  
the belief of it, they were contented that it should be  
inserted under the same Treaty, as it was, “ that his  
“ Majesty did declare, that by the Clause of con-  
“ firming Presbyterian Government by Act of Par-  
“ liament, he is neither obliged to desire the settling  
“ Presbyterian Government, nor to present any Bills  
“ to that effect; and that he likewise understands that  
“ no Person whatsoever shall suffer in his Estate, nor  
“ undergo any Corporal punishment, for not submit-  
“ ting to Presbyterian Government; his Majesty  
“ understanding that this indemnity should not ex-  
“ tend to those who are mentioned in the Article  
“ against Toleration:” and to this the three Bails  
likewise subscribed their hands, “ as Witnesses only,  
“ as they said, that his Majesty had made that Decla-  
“ ration in their presence, not as Assenters,” so wary  
they were of administering jealousy to their Masters,  
or of being thought to be less rigid in so fundamental  
a Point, as they knew that would be thought to be.

The Author's  
edgment of  
the different  
degrees of

There was a wonderful difference, throughout  
their whole proceedings, between the heads of those  
who were thought to sway the Presbyterian Con-

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the two Parties, the Independent English and the Presbyterian Scots.

sels, and those who governed the Independents, though they were equally Masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their Intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unrestrained by any scruples or motions of Conscience, the Independents always doing that, which how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the Presbyterians, for the most part, did somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally designed; and there were two Reasons that might naturally produce this ill Success to the Latter, at least hindered the even progress and current which favored the other. First, their Councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many Men, whose humors and natures must be observed, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their Inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other Party was entirely led and governed by two or three, to whom they resigned, implicitly, the conduct of their Interest; who advanced, when they saw it seasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awakened by the Progress they had made.

In the second place, the Presbyterians, by whom I mean the *Scots*, formed all their Counsels by the Inclinations, and Affections of the People; and first considered how they might corrupt, and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far

**B O O K** they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolved to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless, and wretched Clergy; whose infectious breath corrupted, and governed the People, and whose Authority was prevalent upon their own Wives, and in their Domestic Affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: Whereas, on the other side, *Cromwell*, and the few others with whom he Consulted, first considered what was absolutely necessary to their main and determined end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it: to cozen and deceive Men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon Motives how foreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so they were resolved, only to do what they believed the People would like and approve; and the other, that the People should like and approve what they had resolved. And this difference in the measures they took, was the true cause of so different Success in all they undertook. *Machiavel*, in this, was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other Men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking (He was as great an Enemy to Tyranny and Injustice in any Government, as any Man then was, or now is; and says) "that a Man were better be a Dog than be subject to those Pas-

" fions and Appetites, which possess all Unjust, and  
 " Ambitious, and Tyrannical Persons;" but he con-  
 fesses, " that they who are so transported, and have  
 " entertained such wicked designs as are void of all  
 " Conscience, must not think to prosecute them by  
 " the rules of Conscience, which was laid aside, or  
 " subdued, before they entered upon them; they  
 " must make no scruple of doing all those impious  
 " things which are necessary to compass and support  
 " the Impiety to which they have devoted them-  
 " selves: and therefore he commends *Cæsar Borgia*  
 " for not being startled with breach of Faith, Per-  
 " juries, and Murders for the removal of those Men  
 " who he was sure would cross, and enervate the  
 " whole Enterprise he had resolved, and addicted  
 " himself to; and blames those Usurpers, who had  
 " made themselves Tyrants, for hoping to support a  
 " Government by Justice, which they had assumed  
 " unjustly, and which having wickedly attempted,  
 " they manifestly lost by not being wicked enough."  
 The common old Adage, " that he who hath drawn  
 " his Sword against his Prince, ought to throw away  
 " the Scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again,  
 " will still hold good;" and they who enter upon  
 unwarrantable Enterprises, must pursue many unwar-  
 rantable ways to preserve themselves from the  
 penalty of the first guilt.

*Cromwell*, though the greatest Dissembler living,  
 always made his Hypocrisy of singular use and benefit  
 to him; and never did any thing, how ungracious or  
 imprudent soever it seemed to be, but what was ne-  
 cessary to the design; even his roughness and unpo-



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lishedness, which, in the beginning of the Parliament, he affected contrary to the smoothness, and complacency, which his Cousin, and bosom-Friend, Mr. *Hambden* practised towards all Men, was necessary; and his first public Declaration, in the beginning of the War, to his Troop when it was first Mustered, “that he would not deceive or cozen them by the perplexed and involved expressions in his Commission, to fight for King and Parliament;” and therefore told them, “that if the King chanced to be in the Body of the Enemy that he was to Charge, he would as soon discharge his Pistol upon Him as any other private Person; and if their Conscience would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to list themselves in his Troop, or under his Command,” which was generally looked upon as imprudent, and malicious, and might, by the professions the Parliament then made, have proved dangerous to him; yet served his turn, and severed from others, and united among themselves, all the furious, and incensed Men against the Government, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, to look upon him as a Man for their turn, upon whom they might depend, as one who would go through his work that he undertook. And his strict and unfociable Humor in not keeping company with the other Officers of the Army in their Jollies, and Excesses, to which most of the superior Officers under the Earl of *Essex* were inclined, and by which he often made himself ridiculous or contemptible, drew all those of the like sour or reserved Natures, to his Society and Conversation, and gave him opportunity to form their Understandings, Inclina-

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tions, and Resolutions, to his own Model. By this he grew to have a wonderful Interest in the Common-Soldiers, out of which, as his Authority increased, he made all his Officers, well instructed how to live in the same manner with their Soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purposes: whilst he looked upon the Presbyterian Humor as the best incentive to Rebellion, no Man more a Presbyterian; he sung all Psalms with them to their Tunes, and loved the longest Sermons as much as they; but when he discovered that they would prescribe some limits and bounds to their Rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would expire as soon as some few particulars were granted to them in Religion, which he cared not for; and then that the Government must run still in the same Channel; it concerned him to make it believed "that the State had been more Delinquent than the Church, and that the People suffered more by the Civil than by the Ecclesiastical Power; and therefore that the Change of one, would give them little ease, if there were not as great an alteration in the other, and if the whole Government in both were not reformed, and altered;" which though it made him generally odious at first, and irreconciled many of his old Friends to him, yet it made those who remained, more cordial and firm: he could better compute his own strength, and upon whom he might depend. This discovery made him contrive the new Model of the Army; which was the most unpopular Act, and disobliged all those who first contrived the Rebellion, and who were the very Soul of it; and yet, if he had

BOOK not brought that to pass, and changed a General,  
 X. who, though not very sharp-sighted, would never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no Eyes, and so would be willing to be led. all his designs must have come to nothing, and He remained a private Colonel of Horse not considerable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous Composition.

After all the Successes of his new Model, he saw his Army was balanced by that of the Scots, who took themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no less towards the suppression of the King, than that under *Fairfax* had done; and after all the Victories, and Reduction of the King to that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit again to the Subjection of the King; nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his resolution to the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the extirpation of Monarchy, might be startled at the difficulty of the Enterprize, and with the Power that was like to oppose them. He was therefore first to incense the People against the *Scottish* Nation, "as being a mercenary aid, entertained at a  
 " vast Charge to the Kingdom, that was only to be  
 " paid their Wages, and to be dismissed without  
 " having the honor to judge with them upon what  
 " conditions the King should be received, and re-  
 " stored; the accomplishing whereof, ought to be  
 " the particular Glory of the Parliament without a  
 " Rival, and that the King might owe the benefit  
 " wholly to Them." And this was as popular an Argument as he could embark himself in, the whole

Kingdom in general having at that time a great detestation of the *Scots*; and they who most desired the King's Restoration, wished that he might have as little obligation to them as was possible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. With this universal Applause, he compelled the *Scottish* Army to depart the Kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after render them odious and infamous. There now seemed nothing more dangerous and destructive to the power and interest of the *English* Army, in so general a discontent throughout the Kingdom, than a division, and mutiny within itself; that the Common-Soldiers should erect an Authority distinct from their Officers, by which they would chuse to govern against their Superior Commanders, at least without them, and to fancy that they had an Interest of their own severed from theirs, for the preservation whereof they were to trust none but themselves; which had scarce ever been heard of before in any Army. and was looked upon as a presage of the ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to them; yet, if he had not raised this seditious Spirit in the Army, he could not have prevented the disbanding some part of it, and sending another part of it into *Ireland*, before the *Scots* left *New-Castle*; nor have been able to have taken the King from *Holmby* into the hands of the Army, after the *Scots* were gone. And after all his Hypocrisy towards the King and his Party, by which he prevented many inconveniencies which might have befallen him he could never have been rid of him again so unreproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving cause to



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the King to suspect the safety of his Person, and thereupon to make his Escape from the Army; by which his Majesty quickly became a Prisoner, and so was deprived of any resort, from whence many mischiefs might have proceeded to have disturbed his Councils, How constantly he pursued this method in his subsequent Actions, will be observed in its place.

Contrary to this the Presbyterian *Scots* proceeded, in all their Actions after their first Invasion in the year 1643, and always interwove some Conditions in their Councils and Transactions, which did not only prove, but, in the instant, might have been discerned to be, diametrically opposite to their public Interest, and to their particular Designs. It is very true, that their first Invasion, saving their breach of Allegiance, might have some excuse from their Interest. They were a poor People, and though many particular Men of that Nation had received great Bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the Court of *England* by King *James* and the present King, yet those particular Men who had been, and then were in the Court, were, for the most part, Persons of little Interest in *Scotland*; nor was that Kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they thought themselves exposed to some late pressures, which were new to them, and which their Preachers told them "were against Conscience, and an Invasion of their Religion;" from which they had vindicated themselves so rudely, and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter, of those Persons whom they had most provoked, retained their Interest still with the King, and in his Councils; from whom they  
were

promised to be secured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into *England* with an Army, give their Friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and so to procure Relief and Security for both Kingdoms. In this Enterprize, the Success crowned their work; they were thought a Wise, and Resolute Nation; and after an unbloody War of above a year, they returned into their Country laden with Spoils and great Riches; and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into *England*. But from their return from this Expedition, their whole true Interest consisted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his Honor and Interest from all Assaults; and their being suborned afterwards (when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his *English* Rebels to their Obedience, by the strength and power of his Arms) to make a second Invasion of the Kingdom, was a weak and childish Engagement, directly opposite to their Interest, except they had at the same time a Resolution to have changed their own Government, and for ever to have renounced Subjection to Monarchy (which was never in their purpose to do) or to withdraw it from the present King. Again, when his Majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his Royal Person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the Eyes of the World, and to undo some part of the mischief they had done, it was surely their Interest to have joined cordially with him, and firmly to have united themselves to his Party in vindication of the

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Law, and the Government established; and if they had not had the Courage at that time to have looked the *English* Army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their Interest to have retired with the King in the Head of their Army into *Scotland*; and, leaving good Garrisons in *New-Castle*, *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, all which were in their possession, to have expected a Revolution in *England* from the Divisions amongst themselves, and from some conjunction with a strong Body of the King's *English* Party, which would quickly have found themselves together; but the delivery of the King up, besides the infamy of it, was, in view, destructive to all that could be thought their Interest.

After all this, when they found themselves cozened, and deceived in all the measures they had taken, and laughed at and despised by those who had deceived them, to have a new opportunity to serve the King and then to insist upon such Conditions as must make it impossible for them to serve him effectually, was such a degree of weakness, and a depraved understanding, that they can never be looked upon as Men who knew what their Interest was, or what was necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we shall be obliged to observe how incorrigibly they adhered to this obstinate and froward Method, in all the Transactions they afterwards had with the King; all which turned, as it could not but do, to their own Ruin, and the Destruction of that Idol they Adored, and paid their Devotion to. But it is time to return to our discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

The King's

All designs and Negotiations, abroad and at home,

being in this state and condition, the King remained under a strict, and disconsolate imprisonment, no Man being suffered to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all Letters which might pass to, or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some Inhabitants of the Island, to receive important Advertisements from his Friends; and to write to and receive Letters from the Queen; and so he informed her of the *Scottish* Transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and seemed to have some ease; and looked upon it as a good Omen that in that desperate lowness of his Fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but Men of inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and Man, his Majesty's gracious disposition, and generous affability still wrought upon some Soldier, or other Person placed about him, to undertake, and perform some Offices of trust, in conveying Papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had Natural duty; or some desperate Men had so much craft, and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for, nor desired. But many who did undertake to perform those Offices, did not make good what they promised; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

In the Parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the Public; but in all those Transactions which concerned particular Persons, with reference to Rewards, Preferments,

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condition in  
the Isle of  
Wight at  
this time.

The present  
condition of  
the Parlia-  
ment.



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or matter of profit, Men were considered according to the Party they were of; every day those received benefit who had appeared most to adhere to the Army; the notorious Presbyterians were removed from places of Profit and Authority; which vexed them; and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the Pulpit-Skirmishes were higher than ever; the Presbyterians, in Those fields, losing nothing of their Courage, having a notorious power in the City, notwithstanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more Learned and Rational; who, though they had not so great Congregations of the Common-People, yet infected, and were followed by the most substantial and wealthy Citizens; and by others of better condition. To these Men *Cromwell*, and most of the Officers of the Army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the Divinity of the time was not to be judged by the Preaching, and Congregations in Churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for Devotion and Religious Assemblies, where the Bishops had exercised such illimited Tyranny, and which had been polluted by their Original Consecrations. Liberty of Conscience was now become the great Charter; and Men who were *inspired*, Preached and Prayed, when, and where they would. *Cromwell* himself was the greatest Preacher; and most of the Officers of the Army, and many Common-Soldiers, showed their *gifts* that way. Anabaptists grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurred so far as to join with them for the utter abolishing of Tithes, as of Judaical Institution; which was now the patrimony of the Presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one

Party, and defended by the other, with equal passion, and Animosity. If any honest Man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of confusion, as at this time had spread itself over the face of the whole Kingdom.

During all this time, the Prince remained at *Paris* under the Government of his Mother; exercised with that strictness, that though his Highness was above the Age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the Royal Family was in. The Assignment which was made by the Court of *France* for the better support of the Prince, was annexed to the Monthly allowance given to the Queen, and received by Her, and distributed as she thought fit; such Clothes and other necessaries provided for his Highness as were thought convenient; her Majesty desiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon Her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of *Wales* to be a Pensioner to the King of *France*. Hereby none of his Highness's Servants had any pretence to ask Money, but they were to be contented with what should be allowed to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the Prince himself ever Master of ten Pistolles to dispose as he desired. The Lord *Jermyn* was the Queen's chief-Officer and governed all Her receipts, and he loved plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffered. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore His aid; and the Prince himself could obtain nothing but by

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The Prince's  
condition at  
Paris.

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x. Him; which made most Persons of Honor of the *English* Nation who were driven into Banishment, as many of the Nobility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom then were, chuse rather to make their residence in any other place, as *Caen*, *Roan*, and the like, than in *Paris*. where the Prince was, and could do so little; nor was this Oeconomy well liked even in *France*, nor the Prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concerned in his own Business.

When the Marquis of *Ormond* came thither, he was received very graciously by the Queen, and consulted with in all things, being the Person most depended upon to begin to give a turn to their fortune recommended to them by the King, and of the most universal reputation of any Subject the King had. He pressed a speedy despatch, that he might pursue his designs in *Ireland*; where he longed to be, whilst the Affairs of that Kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He informed the Queen, and the Lord *Jermyn*, of the necessity of hastening that work, which they understood well enough by the *Irish* Commissioners; who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of promises, a coin that Court always abounded with, and made most of its payments in.

When the Queen, who was as zealous for the despatch as was possible, pressed the Queen-Regent, and the Cardinal upon it, she received in words all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the Marquis spoke first with the Cardinal upon the Subject, he

found him well disposed; making such ample promises for a very good Sum of Money, and such a Proportion of Arms, and Ammunition, as could be wished. So that he thought he had no more to do but to appoint the place for his embarkation. that those Provisions might be sent thither to meet him; and that he should be ready to transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in *Ireland*, and prepared all his own Accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the Cardinal was not so confident of the recovery of the King's Affairs as to disoblige the Parliament by contributing towards it: so that Affair advanced very slowly.

Having now, contrary to the order formerly observed by me, crowded in all the particular passages, and important Transactions of two whole years into this Book, that I might not interrupt, or discontinue the relation of the mysterious Proceedings of the Army, their great Hypocrisy, and Dissimulation, practised towards the King and his Party, and then their pulling off their Mask, and appearing in their natural dress of inhumanity and savageness, with the vile Artifices of the *Scottish* Commissioners to draw the King into their hands, and then their low and base compliance, and gross folly, in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchandly trafficking with him for the price of returning to their Allegiance, when there was no other way of preserving themselves, and their Nation from being destroyed, the many woeful Tragedies of the next year, which filled the world with amazement and horror, must be the Subject of the discourse in the next Book,



BOOK X. Him; which made most Persons of Honor of the *English* Nation who were driven into Banishment as many of the Nobility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom then were, chuse rather to make their residence in any other place, as *Caen*, *Roan*, and the like, than in *Paris*, where the Prince was, and could do so little; nor was this Oeconomy well liked even in *France*, nor the Prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concerned in his own Business.

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THE  
History of the Rebellion, etc.  
B O O K XI.

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Deut. XXIX. 24.

*Even all Nations shall say, wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this Land? what meaneth the heat of this great Anger?*

Lam. II. 7.

*The Lord hath cast off his Altar; he hath abhorred his Sanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the Enemy the walls of his Palaces; they have made a noise in the House of the Lord as in the day of a solemn feast.*

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B O O K

XI.

The temper  
of the Nation  
at this time

**I**F a universal discontent and murmuring of the three Nations, and almost as general a detestation both of Parliament and Army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the King to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed Government they had deprived themselves of, could have contributed to his Majesty's recovery, never People were better disposed to erect and repair again the Building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled down. In *England* there was a general discontent amongst all sorts of

Men; many Officers and Soldiers who had served the Parliament from the beginning of the War, and given too great Testimonies of their Courage and Fidelity to their Party, and had been disbanded upon the new Model, looked upon the present Army with hatred, as those who reaped the harvest and reward of Their labors, and spake of them and against them in all places accordingly: The Nobility and Gentry who had advanced the credit and reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it against the King, found themselves totally neglected, and the most inferior People preferred to all places of trust and profit: The Presbyterian Ministers talked very loud; their Party appeared to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from *Scotland*, and the importunity and clamor from *Ireland*, for supplies of Men and Money against the *Irish*, who grew powerful, raised the Courage of all discontented Persons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh against the Army, and the Officers who corrupted it. The Parliament bore no reproach so concernedly, as that of “the want of supplies to *Ireland*, and that, having so great an Army without an Enemy, they would not spare any part of it to preserve that Kingdom.” This Argument made a new warmth in the House of Commons, they who had been silent, and given over insisting upon the insolence and presumption of the Army, which had prevailed, and crushed them, took now new Spirit. and pressed the relief of *Ireland* with great earnestness, and in order thereunto made great inquisition into the Expenses of the Money, and how such vast Sums received had been disbursed; which

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The Affairs  
of Ireland  
during the  
Lord Lisle's  
being there.



**B O O K** was a large Field, and led them to many Men's doors  
**x1.** upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

There was a design this way to get the Presbyterians again into power, and that they might get the Command of an Army for the subduing the Rebels in *Ireland*. *Cromwell* had, for the quieting the Clamors from thence, got the Lord *Lisle*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Leicester*, to be sent under the Title of Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom thither, with a Commission for a limited time. He had landed in *Munster*, either out of the Jealousy they had of the Lord *Inchiquin*, or because the best part of their Army of *English* were under his Command in that Province. But that Expedition gave the *English* no relief, nor weakened the power or strength of the *Irish*, but rather increased their reputation by the Faction and bitterness that was between the Lieutenant and the President, who writ Letters of complaint one against the other to the Parliament, where they had both their Parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his Commission being expired, and the contrary Party not suffering it to be renewed, the Lord *Lisle* returned again into *England*, leaving the Lord *Inchiquin*, whom he meant to have destroyed, in the entire possession of the Command, and in greater reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preserved both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and every day informing the Parliament of the ill condition he was in, and pressing for a supply of Men and Money, when he knew they would send neither.

Upon the return of the Lord *Lisle* the Presbyterians

renewed their design, and caused Sir *William Waller* to be named for Deputy or Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his Service) because he could quickly draw together those Officers and Soldiers which had served under him, and were now disbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old General. At the first, *Cromwell* did not oppose this motion, but consented to it, being very willing to be rid both of *Waller*, and all the Officers who were willing to go with him; who he knew were not his Friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he saw *Waller* insist upon great Supplies to carry with him, as he had reason to do, and when he considered of what consequence it might be to him and all his designs, if a well formed and disciplined Army should be under the power of *Waller*, and such Officers, he changed his mind; and first set his Instruments to cross such a supply of Men and Money, as he had proposed; "the one, as more than necessary for the Service, and the other as more than they could spare from their other occasions:" and when this check was put to *Waller's* Engagement, he caused *Lambert* to be proposed for that Expedition, a Man who was then fast to the same Interest He embraced, and who had gotten a great name in the Army. He formalized so long upon this, that *Ireland* remained still unsupplied, and their Affairs there seemed to be in a very ill condition.

The *Scots* made so much noise of their purposes, even before their Commissioners left *London*, and gave such constant Advertisements of the

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there, but  
opposed by  
*Cromwell*;  
who proposed  
*Lambert*.

**B O O K** impatience of their Country-men to be in Arms  
**XI.** for the King, though they made no haste in providing for such an Expedition, that both the Presbyterians, who were their chief Correspondents, and the Royal Party, bethought themselves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themselves from their former Guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the King from his Imprisonment, but be able to preserve him in Liberty from any Presbyterian Impositions, which they still apprehended the *Scots* might endeavour to oppose, though they had no suspicion of the Engagement lately mentioned at the Isle of *Wight*.

The Earl of Holland prepares to rise with the Duke of Bucks and others.

The Earl of *Holland*, who had done twice very notoriously amiss, and had been, since his return from *Oxford*, notably despised by all Persons of Credit in the Parliament and the Army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and thorough Engagement. He had much Credit by descent and by alliance with the Presbyterian Party, and was Privy to the undertakings of *Scotland*, and had constant Intelligence of the advance that was made there. His Brother, the Earl of *Warwick*, had undergone some mortification with the rest, and had not that Authority in the Naval Affairs as he had used to have, though he was the High-Admiral of *England* by Ordinance of Parliament, and had done them extraordinary Services. He did not restrain, or endeavour to suppress the Earl of *Holland's* discontents, but inflamed them, and promised to join with him, as many others of that Gang of Men did; resolving that the *Scots* should not do

all that work, but that they would have a share in the merit. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, were newly returned from Travel, and though both very young, were strong and active Men, and being, in respect of their Infancy, unengaged in the late War, and so unhurt by it, and coming now to the possession of large Estates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the Crown upon the first opportunity, they fell easily into the friendship of the Earl of *Holland*, and were ready to Embark themselves in his Adventure. The Earl had made tender of his Resolutions to his old Mistress the Queen at *Paris*, who was always disposed to trust him, and the Lord *Jermyn* and He renewed their former friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguished.

So a Commission was sent from the Prince to the Earl, to be General of an Army, that was to be raised for the redemption of the King from Prison, and to restore the Parliament to its freedom. The Earl of *Peterborough* and *John Mordaunt* his Brother, the Family of the Earl of *Northampton*, and all the Officers who had served the King in the War, with which the City of *London*, and all Parts of the Kingdom abounded, applied themselves to the Earl of *Holland*, and received Commissions from him for several Commands.

This Engagement was so well known, and so generally spoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durst not take notice of it. or wished well to it. And there is no question, never undertaking of that Nature was carried on with so little reservation; there was scarce a County in *England*, in which



**B O O K** there was not some Association entered into to appear  
**XI.** in Arms for the King. They who had the principal Command in *Wales* under the Parliament, sent to *Paris* to declare, "that, if they might have supply of  
 " Arms and Ammunition, and a reasonable Sum for  
 " the payment of their Garrisons, they would declare  
 " for the King, having the chief-places of those Parts  
 " in their Custody." The Lord *Jermyn* encouraged all those Overtures with most positive Undertaking; that they should be supplied with all they expected, within so many days after they should declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his custom, never thought of after; by which the Service miscarried, and many Gallant Men were lost.

*Cromwell*, to whom all these Machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a loose Combination could produce, than, by seizing upon Persons, to engage the Parliament in Examinations, and in Parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the Presbyterian Party had so great an influence upon the General, that he declared to him, "he would not  
 " march against the *Scots*," whom he had a good mind to have visited before their Counsels and Resolutions were formed; and *Cromwell* had reason to believe, that *Fairfax* would be firm to the same mind, even after they should have invaded the Kingdom.

The Scots  
 preparations  
 for an Ex-  
 pedition into  
 England.

All things being in this forwardness in *England*, it is fit to inquire how the *Scots* complied with their obligations, and what Expedition they used in raising their Army. After the Commissioners return from *London*, upon the King's being made Prisoner in the

Isle of *Wight*, it was long before the Marquis of *Argyle* could be prevailed with to consent that a Parliament should be called. He had made a fast friendship with *Cromwell*, and *Vane*; and knew that in this new stipulation with the King, the *Hamiltonian* Faction was the great Undertaker, and meant to have all the Honor of whatsoever should follow. And yet the Duke upon his return to *Scotland* lived at first very privately at his own House; seldom went abroad to any Meeting; and to those who came to him, and to whom that Resolution would be grateful, he used to speak darkly, and as a Man that thought more of revenge upon those who had Imprisoned him, than of assisting the Crown to recover the Authority it had lost. *Argyle*, whose power was over that violent Party of the Clergy which would not depart from the most rigid clause in the Covenant, and were without any reverence for the King or his Government, discerned that he should never be able to hinder the calling of a Parliament, which the People generally called for, and that he should sooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings, and obstructing their determinations, after they should be assembled, than by obstinately opposing their coming together. So Summons were issued for the Convention of a Parliament; and they who appeared most concerned for the King, and to set him at Liberty from his Imprisonment (which was all they pretended) were the Earl of *Lawrick*, Brother to Duke *Hamilton*, and then restored to his Office of Secretary of *Scotland*, who had been Imprisoned at *Oxford*, and made his escape from thence; and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, who

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**B O O K** had been with the forwardest from the beginning of  
**XI.** the Rebellion, when he was scarce of Age, and  
 prosecuted it to the end with most eminent Fierceness  
 and Animosity.

The Characters  
 of Lanrick and  
 Eautherdale.

They were both Men of great Parts and Industry, though they loved pleasures too; both Proud and Ambitious; the Former, much the civilier and better bred, of the better Nature, and better Judgment, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most Men of that Party: the Latter, Insolent, Imperious, Flattering, and Dissembling, fitter for Intrigues and Contrivances by the want of the Ingenuity which the other had, and by the Experience and Practice he had in the Committee of both Kingdoms in their darkest designs. The Former, was a Man of Honor and Courage; the Latter, had Courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of Honor to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions.

These two were the chief Managers and Contrivers to carry on this Affair, for though the Chancellor, the Earl of *Lowden*, had been a Commissioner in *England*, and as privy to the Treaty with the King, and had made as many professions and protestations of duty to him as They, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious for his loose and vicious Life, which was notorious, that he durst not provoke *Argyle* or the Clergy by dissenting from them. They used all the Interest and Skill they had, to get such Elections in the Boroughs of Members for the Parliament as might comply with them; and

the

the People generally were exceedingly offended, and ashamed of the infamous delivering up of the King to the *English*, to which they imputed all the danger that threatened them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their Country; and so had great prejudice to all Men who were thought to be the cause of it.

At the opening of the Parliament, they did all they could to inflame the People against the Army in *England*: which, they said, “had forced the Parliament there to break the Treaty between the two Kingdoms in their ill usage of the King, who was Imprisoned by the Army, nor was it in the power of the Parliament to set him at Liberty: That they had now, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by not suffering him to perform the Office of a King, nor permitting any of his Subjects to repair to him; in which the Kingdom of *Scotland* was concerned, in that being independent upon *England*, and the Parliament of *England*, they were by them deprived of their King, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his Majesty to send to them; which was such a presumption, and violation of the Law of Nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the solemn League and Covenant, and of the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations Human and Divine to be sensible of it, and to redeem their King’s Liberty, and their own Honor, with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes and all that was dear to them: and therefore they desired that they might enter upon those Counsels,

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The Parliament met in Scotland; and their deliberations.



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“ which might soonest get an Army together, which  
 “ should no sooner enter *England*. but it would find  
 “ a conjunction from that whole Kingdom, except  
 “ only the Army; and that it would then quickly  
 “ appear that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms de-  
 “ sired the same thing, and to live happily under  
 “ the Government of the same King.”

This discourse, urged and seconded by many of  
 the principal Men, was entertained by the rest with  
 so general a reception, that *Argyle* found it would be  
 to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it. He  
 saw the Election of the Knights and Burgeses had  
 succeeded according to the wishes of the other Lords,  
 and that they would concur with whatsoever was  
 proposed; and he found likewise that they had  
 wrought upon the greatest part of their Clergy; who  
 believed all they said to them. He did not therefore  
 oppose any thing proposed by them, but only desired,  
 “ that they would very well weigh the manner of  
 “ their proceeding in an affair of so great concern-  
 “ ment, which was like to terminate in a bloody War  
 “ between the two Kingdoms; which had hitherto  
 “ proceeded as Brethren, and had both reaped great  
 “ benefit and advantage from the conjunction: and  
 “ he hoped there was no purpose to shake any of those  
 “ foundations which had been laid in the years by  
 “ gone, which supported that Government, and  
 “ made that Kingdom happy; which if dissolved,  
 “ all the mischief and tyranny they had formerly felt  
 “ and undergone, would break in upon them with  
 “ a torrent that should destroy them.” Every Body  
 declared, “ that there was no purpose to swerve, in

“ the least degree, from what was established for  
 “ the Government in either Kingdom, by their so-  
 “ lemn League and Covenant, which they had in  
 “ perfect veneration, and looked upon it as an obli-  
 “ gation upon them to do all that had been pro-  
 “ posed;’ upon which *Argyle* acquiesced as satisfied,  
 not doubting but that, in the prosecution of their  
 Counsels, he should find opportunity enough to  
 obstruct the quick progress, and to interrupt the  
 conclusion, and execution.

The Lords who had been in *England*, and fre-  
 quented *Hampton-Court*, whilst the King was there,  
 to make themselves the more gracious, had treated  
 all the King’s Party with all manner of caresses, and  
 more particularly had much applied themselves to  
 those Gentlemen of the North who had most emi-  
 nently served the King, and who had good Fortunes  
 there to support their Interest. Of this kind there  
 were two very notable Men, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*,  
 and Sir *Philip Musgrave*; both Men of large and plen-  
 tiful Estates, the one in *Yorkshire*, the other in *Cum-  
 berland* and *Westmoreland*; who having been in the  
 time of Peace eminent in their Country in the Offices  
 of Justices of Peace, and Deputy Lieutenants, had  
 in the beginning of the War, engaged themselves in  
 Commands in the King’s Army with great reputation  
 of stout, diligent, and active Officers; and continued  
 to the end, and had not after applied themselves to  
 make any composition, but expected a new oppor-  
 tunity to appear with their Swords in their hands.  
 They were both looked upon by the Parliament,  
 and the chief Officers of the Army, with great

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Sir M. Lang-  
 dale and Sir  
 P. Musgrave  
 and others,  
 treated with  
 by the Scots,  
 and invited  
 into Scotland;  
 whither they  
 went.

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jealousy, as Men worthy to be feared, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The *Scottish* Lords had not been scrupulous to let these two Gentlemen know what they intended, and “that they made no question but they should engage their whole Kingdom and Nation to enter into a present War with *England* on the King’s behalf; and therefore desired them, by the Interest, and Influence they had upon the Northern Counties, to dispose them to a conjunction with them.” And because they knew that they two were too notorious to stay with any Security about *London*, much less in their own Country, they invited them into *Scotland*, where they assured them, “they should not only be safe, but very welcome; and should be Witnesses of their Proceedings, and have parts of their own to act in, as soon as the Season should be ripe.”

These Gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and whilst the Army made those professions towards the King, had been much courted by the chief Officers thereof, and had been Quartered with them as Friends, knew well, now the Mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themselves to make their compositions, they should be apprehended, and imprisoned. And therefore, being persuaded that the *Scots* would engage for the King, they accepted their Invitation, and told them, “they should quickly find them in *Scotland* after their own return.” Accordingly, after having secretly spent some time in their own Countries, and directed their Friends to be in a readiness when they should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a way

how to correspond together, they went into *Scotland* to those who had invited them, and were received by them with civility enough. They owned such a wariness, in respect of the jealousies amongst themselves, and the ill Arts of *Argyle*, that they desired them “for some time to withdraw to some place” (which they recommended to them) “and there to remain in secret, and under feigned Names until the calling of the Parliament; at which time they might come to *Edinburgh*, and appear in their own likeness with all freedom.” So after having remained in that private manner, where they were well treated for some Months, when the Parliament was assembled at *Edinburgh*, they returned thither; and were very well looked upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themselves with the more freedom and confidence in their conversation, the fore-mentioned Lords telling them all they meant to do, and what Arts they were to use till they could get their Army up, towards which they believed they had mastered the greatest difficulties.

Though the *Scottish* Commissioners had withdrawn from *London*, shortly after they had protested loudly against the proceedings of the Parliament, both in imprisoning the King, and in refusing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the Government of that Kingdom; and thought it high time to provide for their own Security by quitting their Station at *London*, where they received every day Affronts, and their Persons were exposed to contempt; yet there were no sooner Preparations towards a Parliament in *Scotland*, Commissioners sent from the



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two Houses  
into Scotland.

than Commissioners were sent from the Lords and Commons at *Westminster* to reside at *Edinburgh*, as if they hoped to over-vote them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a strong or at least an active Party there. They were received with the same show of respect, and the same care was taken for their Accommodation, as had been when they first came for contriving of the Covenant; not only the Marquis of *Argyle* and his Party, very diligently visited them, and performed all offices of respect towards them, but even the *Hamiltonian* Faction, and they who were most solicitous to raise the War, attended them as officiously as others, and made the same professions to preserve the Peace and Amity between the two Nations.

That rigid Party of the Clergy which so adored the Covenant in the strictest sense of the Letter, that they did not desire to have any more dependance upon the King, but in effect to lay him aside, and to settle the Government without him, as their Brethren in *England* had resolved to do, were never from them, and willingly received such Presents and Pensions from the *English* Commissioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them: and much Money was given to make them fast Friends. By this means nothing was resolved, or proposed in the most secret Councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themselves as haughtily and imperiously, as if they had their Army at hand to second them. They took notice of the resort of so many *English* to *Edinburgh*, and that there were many amongst them who had

been in Arms against the Parliament, and demanded  
 “ that they might either be banished that Kingdom,  
 “ or delivered to them to be sent to the Parliament.”

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They were so clamorous in this Argument, and found so much countenance to their clamor, that they who had invited the *English* thither, had not the Courage to own them; but advised them underhand, “ to absent themselves from the Town, till  
 “ that storm should be over.” And even Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave*, whom, over and above all the discourses held with them at *London*, the *Scottish* Lords had sent to confer with as they passed through the Northern parts Homewards and had then conferred with them, and desired them “ to  
 “ prepare all things with their Friends for the surprisal of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, when the Season  
 “ should be Ripe; and that they would hasten their  
 “ Journey into *Scotland*, that they might be out of  
 “ danger of imprisonment;” even these Men were desired, “ either to withdraw again from *Edinburgh*,  
 “ or to keep their Chambers there. and not to be  
 “ seen abroad, until their Army should be raised, and  
 “ such a General made choice of as would take care  
 “ of their Protection.” And they did not conceal from them, that they made no doubt but that Duke *Hamilton* should be that General; who often conferred with them in private and always assured them,  
 “ that whatever was, in that place and season, dis-  
 “ coursed of the Covenant, which was very necessary to bring their designs to pass, he should be no  
 “ sooner invested in the Command his Friends desired  
 “ signed for him, than he would manifest his resolu-

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tion to join with the King's Party, upon the true Interest of the Crown, without which he would hope for little success in *England*:" and he desired them, "though they saw little appearance yet of raising an Army, which would be as soon finished as begun, by the method they were accustomed to use, that they would write very earnestly to their Friends in *England* to begin, as soon as might be, to execute the designs they had laid in as many parts of the Kingdom as they could, upon confidence that they should receive relief before they could be oppressed." To the same purpose they writ to the Queen, and desired that the Prince might be in a readiness to be with them against the time their Army should be ready to march; which, they assured Her, should be by the beginning of *May*." All which several Advertisements, being communicated in *England*, found a People too ready to give credit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than they ought to have done: and yet they were hastened by such Accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even necessary.

The King, whilst he was at *Hampton-Court*, when he foresaw that the Army would not comply with him, as he once believed, and resolved to get themselves out of their hands, had, as is mentioned before, directed the Duke of *York*, who was of years to be trusted with the secret, "that, when a fit opportunity should be offered, he should make his Escape into the parts beyond the Seas, and follow the directions of his Mother:" and about this time, when so much Action was expected, which probably might

produce many alterations, his Majesty, in all places, found some way to advertise the Duke, "that it" would be a very proper Season for him to make his "Escape." The Person who was intrusted to contrive it was Colonel *Bamfield*, a Man of an active and insinuating Nature, and dexterous enough in bringing any thing to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no relation to the King's Service; he had served the King in the late War as a Colonel of Foot, and had not behaved himself so well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the other Party, and was in truth much more conversant with the Presbyterian Party than with the King's. So that his repair often to the place where the Duke of *York* and the other Children were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

The Duke and his Brother and Sister were then kept at St. *James's*, where they had the liberty of the Garden and Park to walk and exercise themselves in, and Lords, and Ladies, and other Persons of condition, were not restrained from resorting thither to visit them. In this manner *Bamfield* had been sometimes there; and after he had informed the Duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between them, that he might not become suspected by being observed to speak too often with him, he provided a small Vessel to be ready about the Custom-House, and to have its Pass for *Holland*, and then advertised the Duke to be ready in the close of an Evening, when playing, as he used to do, with the other Children, in a Room from whence there was a pair of Stairs to the Garden, he might,

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The Escape of  
the Duke of  
York beyond  
Sea from St.  
James's



**B O O K** untaken notice of. get thither ; from whence there  
**XL.** was a door into the Park where *Bamfield* would meet him. And this was so well adjusted, that the Duke came at the hour to the place ; where the other met him, and led him presently where a Coach was ready, and so carried him into a private House : where he only stayed whilst he put on Women's Apparel, that was provided for him ; and presently, with Colonel *Bamfield* only, went into a pair of Oars that was ready : so passed the Bridge, and went on Board the Vessel that was ready to receive him ; which immediately hoisted Sail. and arrived safe in *Holland*, without any Man of the Ship having the least imagination what Freight they carried.

The Duke, as soon as he was on Shore, and in a Lodging, resolving no longer to use his Woman's habit, stayed there till he advertised his Sister, the Princess Royal of *Orange*, of his Arrival ; who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the *Hague* ; from whence the Queen was informed, and so knew as soon almost where he was, at she did of his escape from *London*. The Prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolved which way he should go ; so that it was thought best that the Duke should, for the present, stay at the *Hague* with his Sister, till farther resolutions might be taken ; and though the Service which *Bamfield* had performed, was very well esteemed, yet they thought the making him a Groom of his Bed-Chamber, would be an ample recompence, and that it was necessary to put a Person of a better Quality about his Highness, who might have a

superior Command over the other Servants; and because the Lord *Byron*, who had been made Governor of the Duke of *York* by the King, was then in *England*, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in Arms in a quarter assigned to him, Sir *John Berkeley* was sent by the Queen to wait upon the Duke, as Governor in the absence of the Lord *Byron*, which *Bamfield* looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the Men he hated of all Men living, to have the command over him.

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Sir John Berkeley made his Highness's Governor in the absence of the Lord Byron.

The Lord *Capel*, who was in the most secret part of all these Intrigues in *England*, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the Presbyterians nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remained still in *Jersey*, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to Embark himself in that attempt, as soon as it should be ripe; and had signified the King's Command to him, "that as soon as the Chancellor should be required to wait upon the Prince, he should without delay obey the Summons:" and the King had likewise writ to the Queen very positively, "that when it should be necessary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his attendance upon the Person of his Royal Highness, in the condition he had formerly done." About the beginning of *May*, in the year 1648, the Lord *Capel*, who had always corresponded with the Chancellor, and informed him of the State of Affairs, and all that concerned himself, writ to him, "that all things were now so ripe, that

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“ he believed the Prince would not find it fit to remain longer in *France*; and thereupon conjured him that he would be ready, if he should be sent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon his Highness;” which, he said, all the King’s Friends expected he should do; and which he was resolved to do as soon as the Prince should be out of *France*, though he should receive no order or invitation so to do.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent for to the Prince from Jersey.

About the middle of *May*, the Queen, according to his Majesty’s Command, sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jersey*, commanding, “ that he would wait upon the Prince in the *Louvre* at *Paris*,” upon a day that was past before the Letter came to his hands. But he no sooner received the Summons, than he betook himself to the Journey, and to transport himself into *Normandy*; where, after he was landed, he made what haste he could to *Caen*, supposing he should there find Secretary *Nicholas*, who had given him notice, “ that he had received the same Command.” When he came to *Caen*, he found the Secretary’s Lady there, but himself was gone to *Roan*, to the Lord *Cottington*, and intended to stay there till the other should arrive, and to consult together there upon their farther Journey. The old Earl of *Bristol* who had lived likewise at *Caen* was gone with the Secretary to *Roan*, having likewise received the same Summons with the others to attend the Prince at the *Louvre*. The Chancellor hastened to *Roan*, where he found the Lord *Cottington*, who had still the Title and Precedency of Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and

Secretary *Nicholas*, who were all his very good Friends, and very glad of his Arrival. They had received Advertisement, the day before, “ that the Prince, with all his small Train, was pass’d by “ towards *Calais* ;” and direction was sent “ that the “ Chancellor, whom they supposed to be on the “ way, and the rest should stay at *Roan* till they “ should receive new Orders from *Calais*, where “ his Royal Highness would take new measures “ what he was to do.” So they stay’d together at *Roan*, where there were at the same time very many *English* of Quality in their own condition, who were driven out of *England*, as well as they for their fidelity to the King. and had brought somewhat with them for their support abroad, till they might upon some good change return to their own Country In the mean time they lived very decently together in that City ; where they were well esteem’d The way between *Roan* and *Calais* was so dangerous without a very strong Convoy, that no day pass’d without Robberies and Murders, so that they were glad of their Order not to stir from thence, till they should receive a very particular direction from the Prince ; and within few days they received advice, “ that “ the Prince had, as soon as he came to *Calais* put “ himself on board a Ship that he found there bound “ for *Holland*, whence they were to hear from him, “ how they should dispose of themselves.” Whereupon they all resolv’d to remove from *Roan* to *Dieppe*, from whence they might Embark themselves for *Holland* if they saw cause; the ways by Land, in regard that both the *French* and the *Spanish* Armies were in the Field, being very dangerous.

The Prince  
went into Hol-  
land from  
*Calais*.



BOOK XI. The Prince's remove from *Paris* on such a sudden, proceeded from an Accident in *England* that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The Parliament about this time had prepared, according to custom, a good Fleet of ten or a dozen Ships for the Summer-Guard, and appointed *Rainborough* to be Admiral thereof; who had been bred at Sea, and was the Son of an eminent Commander at Sea lately dead; but he himself, from the time of the new Model, had been an Officer of Foot in the Army, and was a Colonel of special Note and Account, and of *Cromwell's* chief Confidants. This offended the Earl of *Warwick* much, and disposed him to that inclination to concur with his Brother lately mentioned. Captain *Batten* likewise was as much unsatisfied, who had acted a great part in the first alienating the Fleet, and the Affections of the Seamen from the King, and had ever been their Vice-Admiral afterwards, and one of the Persons upon whom they principally relied at Sea. *Rainborough*, as long as he remained in the Navy, had been under his Command, and both the Earl and *Batten* well knew that this Man was now made Admiral of this Fleet, because they, being Presbyterians, should have no credit or influence upon it; which made them solicitous enough that the Seamen should not be well pleased with the Alteration; and They looked upon *Rainborough* as a Man that had forsaken them, and preferred the Land before the Sea-Service. The Seamen are in a manner a Nation by themselves, a humorous, brave, and sturdy People; fierce, and resolute in whatsoever they are inclined to, some-

The Revolt of  
part of the  
Fleet to the  
King from  
*Rainborough*.

what unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it, and jealous of those to morrow by whom they are governed to day. These Men, observing the general discontent of the People, and that, however the Parliament was obeyed by the power of the Army, both Army and Parliament were grown very odious to the Nation, and hearing so much discourse of an Army from *Scotland* ready to enter into the Kingdom, concluded that the King would be Restored; and then remembering that the revolt of the Fleet was the preamble to the loss of his Majesty's Authority every where else, and a great cause of all his Misfortunes, thought it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his Majesty's Restoration by their declaring for him. This was an Agitation among the Common-Seamen, without communicating it to any Officer of the Quality of Master of a Ship. This inclination was much improved in them by a general disposition in *Kent* to an Insurrection for the King, and by some Gentlemen's coming on board the Ships, according to the custom of that Country; who fomented the good disposition in the Seamen by all the ways the could.

At this very time there appeared generally throughout *Kent* the same indigested Affection to the King, and inclination to serve him, as was among the Seamen, and was Conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been designed by those who took care of the King's Affairs, and who designed those Insurrections which happened in other parts of the Kingdom. They knew nothing, that is contributed nothing to this good disposition

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Commotions  
in Kent for  
the King.

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in the Seamen, though they were not without some hope that, upon all other Revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at Sea to the advantage of the King's Affairs. They had some expectation indeed from *Kent*, where they knew the People were generally well affected, and depended upon two or three Gentlemen of that County, who had been Officers in the King's Army, and resolved to bring in some Troops of Horse, when occasion should be ripe; but it was resolved and intended that the *Scottish* Army should be entered the Kingdom, by which the Parliament-Army would be upon their March towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near *London*; and then they believed that both Country and City would rise together. And so those Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were privy to any design, lay Privately in *London* to avoid all Cabals in their County; so that what now fell out there, was by mere chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

There happened to be at some Jovial meeting in *Kent* about that time, one Mr *L. Esrange* a younger Brother of a good Family in *Norfolk*, who had been always of the King's Party, and for attempting somewhat in his own Country for his Majesty's Service, had been taken Prisoner by the Parliament, and by a Court of War condemned to die, but being kept in Prison till the end of the War, was then set at Liberty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retained his old Affections, and more remembered the cruel usage he had received, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they

they might have done. He had great Friendship with a young Gentlemen, Mr. *Hales*, who lived in *Kent*, and was Married to a Lady of a Noble Birth and Fortune, he being Heir to one of the greatest Fortunes of that County, but was to expect the Inheritance from the favor of an Old Severe Grand-father, who for the present kept the young Couple from running into any Excess; the Mother of the Lady being of as four and strict a Nature as the Grand-father, and both of them so much of the Parliament-Party, that they were not willing any part of their Estates should be hazarded for the King. At the House of this Mr. *Hales*, Mr. *L'Estrange* was, when by the Communication which that part of *Kent* always hath with the Ships which lie in the *Downs*, the report first did arise that the Fleet would presently declare for the King, and those Seamen who came on Shore talked as if the City of *London* would join with them. This drew many Gentlemen of the Country who wished well, to visit the Ships, and they returned more confirmed of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowship was a Vice spread every where, and this young great Heir, who had been always bred among his Neighbours, affected that which they were best pleased with, and so his House was a Rendezvous for those who delighted in that Exercise, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the Fleet for the King; and all Men's Mouths were full of the general hatred the whole Kingdom had against the Parliament as well as the Army. Mr. *L'Estrange* was a Man of a good Wit, and a Fancy very luxuriant, and of an enter-



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prising Nature. He observed, by the good Company that came to the House, that the Affections of all that Large and Populous Country were for the King, He begun to tell Mr. *Hales*, "that though his Grand-father did in his heart wish the King well, yet his carriage had been such in his conjunction with the Parliament, that he had more need of the King's favor than of his Grand-father's to be Heir to that great Estate; and that certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his Grand-father, or more glorious to Him, than to be the Instrument of both;" and therefore advised him "to put himself into the Head of his own Country, which would be led by him, that when the *Scots* were entered into the Northern parts, and all the Kingdom should be in Arms, he might, with the Body of his Country-men, march towards *London*; which would induce both the City and the Parliament to join with him, whereby he should have great share in the Honor of Restoring the King."

The Company that frequented the House thought the discourse very reasonable, and saw that the issue must be very honorable: the young Lady of the House was full of Zeal for the King, and was willing her Husband should be the Instrument of his delivery: the young Gentleman himself had not been enough conversant in the Affairs of the world to apprehend the danger, or hazard of the Attempt, and so referred himself and the whole Business to be governed, and conducted by Mr. *LeStrange*, whom they all believed by his discourse to be an able Soldier. He writ some Letters to particular Gentlemen, who he

was informed would receive them willingly, and signed Warrants to the Constables of hundreds with his own Name, which had been never heard of in the Country, requiring, “ in his Majesty’s name, all  
 “ Persons to appear, at a time and place appointed,  
 “ to advise together, and to lay hold on such opportunities, as should be offered for relieving the King  
 “ and delivering him out of Prison.” There was an incredible appearance of the Country at the place appointed, where Mr *L’Estrange* appeared with Mr. *Hales*, and those Persons which had been used to their Company. Mr. *L’Estrange* spoke to them in a style very much his own; and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spoke like a Man in Authority, inveighed against  
 “ the Tyranny of the Army, which had subdued the  
 “ Parliament, against their barbarous imprisonment  
 “ of the King, and against a conspiracy they had to  
 “ murder him.” He added “ that the Affections of  
 “ that noble Country were well known to his Majesty, and that he had therefore appointed the  
 “ Fleet that was in the *Downs* to join with them;  
 “ and that he doubted not but they would together  
 “ be too strong for his Enemies, who were like to  
 “ have enough to do to defend themselves in many  
 “ other places; and that his Majesty was willing they  
 “ should have a Gentleman of their own Country,  
 “ well known to them, to be their General;” and named Mr. *Hales*; who was present. There was not one Man who so much as asked for any Letter or Commission, or other Authority from the King; but all of them, very frankly and unanimously,

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clared " they would be ready to join, and march as " their General *Hales* should direct ;" and so another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and listing and forming their Regiments ; and in the mean time Mr. *L'Estrange* set out such Declarations, and Engagements , as he thought most like to prevail with the People, and required " that they should " be read in all Churches ;" which was done accordingly. The next appearance was greater than the former, and with the same forwardness, many coming Armed both Horse and Foot, and showing a marvellous alacrity to the Engagement. Their General then gave out his Commissions for several Regiments, and a new day was appointed for their Rendezvous, when all should come Armed. and keep together in a Body , until it should be fit to march to *London*.

It was known that the Fleet was gone out of the *Downs* , but it was as well known that it had absolutely renounced the Service of the Parliament, and rejected all their Officers. It was easy to persuade the People , that they were gone upon some important Enterprize, and would speedily return ; and it was insinuated, " that it was gone to the Isle of " *Wight* to release the King, who would return with " it into *Kent* ;" which made them hasten their preparations.

At the time when the King made the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his Commission, " that he should enjoy that Office " during the Minority of the Duke of *York* ;" and the Duke having made his Escape at this time, when there was this Commotion amongst the Seamen, it

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was no sooner known that his Highness was in *Holland*, but the Seamen talked aloud "that they would go to their Admiral;" and the Gentlemen of *Kent* stirring them up and inflaming them to that resolution, and the Seamen again pressing the Gentlemen to hasten their rising in Arms, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves sooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an Enterprize of that importance.

The Parliament was well informed of the distemper amongst the Seamen, and had therefore forbore putting the half of the Provisions aboard the Ships, which, for the greatest part, lay ready in the *Downs*, wanting only half the Victuals they were to have for the Summer-Service. But those Officers which were on board, finding they had no Authority, and that the Seamen mocked and laughed at them, sent every day to inform the Parliament, what mutinous humor the whole Fleet was in. Whereupon they sent *Rainsborough* and some other Officers thither; presuming that the presence of the Admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a Man of a rough imperious Nature, as soon as he came on board his Ship, begun to make a strict Inquiry into the former disorders and mutinous behaviour, upon which all the Men of his Ship retired into their old Fortrefs of One and All, and presently laid hold on him, and put Him, and such other Officers of the Ship as they liked not, into the Boat, and sent them on Shore. Which was no sooner known to the rest of the Ships; but they followed their example, and used Their Officers in the same

Rainsborough  
and some  
other Officers  
put on Shore  
by the Sea-  
men.



**B O O K** manner. After they had for some days been feasted  
**XI.** and caressed by the People of *Kent*, some of the Gentlemen putting themselves on board to join with them, and in order to assist them towards providing such necessaries as were wanting, they went out of the *Docks*, and stood on *Holland*, that they might find their *Anchor*, and let fall their Anchors before the *Brill*. What was done by the Gentlemen of *Kent* on Shore, and the success thereof, will be related hereafter.

The revolted  
 Ships went  
 over to Hol-  
 land.

This so very reasonable revolt of the Fleet, in a conjuncture where so many Advantages were expected, was looked upon as a sure Omen of the deliverance of the King. And the report that the Ships were before *Calais*, as if they had expected some Body there, which was true, for some time, was the reason that it was thought fit that the Prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being sent for by the *Scots*, and how to find himself with them) should make all possible haste to *Calais*. This was the Cause of that his sudden motion, which was yet retarded for want of Money, and all other things necessary for his Journey. The Cardinal showed no manner of favoring all these Appearances of Advantage to the King; he gave less countenance to *Scotland*, than he had ever done when it was in Rebellion against the King; and, notwithstanding all his promises with reference to *Ireland*, the Marquis of *Ormond* remained still at *Paris*, without obtaining Arms or Money in any proportion (both which had been promised so liberally) and was, after all importunities, compelled to transport himself into *Ireland*.

(where he was so importunately called for) without any manner of Supplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the Prince was so behoveful, the Cardinal utterly refused to furnish him with any Money; all which discountenances were shortly after remembered to *Cromwell*, as high merit.

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The Marquis of Ormond goes out of France into Ireland.

The Prince's remove was by every Body thought so necessary, that the Lord *Jermyn*, as was pretended, found means to borrow so much Money as was necessary for the Journey; which the King paid long after with full Interest. Dr. *Goffe*, a Man well known in that time, as the chief Agent and Confident of my Lord *Jermyn*, was presently sent into *Holland*, to dispose the Seamen to be willing to receive the Lord *Jermyn* to Command the Fleet. So solicitous that Noble Man was to be in the head of any Action that was like to prosper, how unfit soever he was for it; having neither industry, nor knowledge of any thing of the Sea, and being less beloved by the Seamen than any Man that could be named. The Prince made what haste he could to *Calais*, attended by Prince *Rupert*, the Lord *Hopton*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, and some other Gentlemen, besides his own Domestics; and finding one of the *English* Frigates before *Calais*, and understanding that the Duke of *York* was gone from the *Hague* to *Helvoet-Sluice*, and had put himself on board the Fleet there, his Highness presently embarked, and made the more haste lest his Brother should be in Action before him, and was received at the Fleet with all those acclamations and noises of joy, which that People are accustomed to;

The Prince it received at the Fleet.

**B O O K** they having exprest as much some days before, at  
**XI.** the arrival of the Duke of *York*.

As soon as it was known in *Holland* that the Prince of *Wales* was arrived, the Prince of *Orange*, with his Wife the Princess Royal, came presently thither to entertain his Highness the best that place would permit, but especially to rejoice together, having not seen each other from the time they were Children. The Prince found the Fleet in Faction and Disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sir *John Berkeley's* coming to the *Hague* to assume the Government of the Duke of *York*, had not been acceptable to his Royal Highness; who was persuaded by Colonel *Bamfield*, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the King to the Isle of *Wight*. The Colonel himself was so incensed with it, that he used all the skill and insinuation he had, to lessen his Highness' reverence to the Queen, and to dispute her Commands. Then taking the opportunity of the Fleet's being come to *Helvoet-Sluice*, he went thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful Address to the disposing Men to mutiny, and to work upon Common-Men, which the Fleet consisted of, there being no Officers, for the most part, above the quality of a Boat-Swain or Master's Mate, he persuaded them " to declare  
 " for the Duke of *York*, without any respect to the  
 " King or Prince; and when his Highness should be  
 " on board, that they should not meddle in the  
 " quarrel between the King and the Parliament, but  
 " entirely join with the Presbyterian Party, and the  
 " City of *London*; which by this means would bring

Factions in  
 the Prince's  
 Fleet.

\* the Parliament to reason :” and he prepared his Friends the Seamen when the Duke should come to them, that they would except against Sir *John Berkeley*, and cause him to be dismissed ; and then he believed he should be able to govern both his Highness and the Fleet.

At the same time Dr. *Goffe*, who was a dexterous Man too, and could comply with all Men in all the Acts of good fellowship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the Seamen, and made them jealous of *Bamfield*’s activity ; and endeavoured to persuade them \* that they should all Petition the Prince (who, he knew, would be shortly with them) “ that the Lord *Jermyn* might be made their Admiral ; who would be able to supply them with Money, and whatsoever else they wanted : that there was no hope of Money but from *France*, and that the Lord *Jermyn* had all the power and credit there, and might have what Money he desired ;” and by these Agitations, the infant Loyalty of the Seamen begun to be distracted.

At the same time the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who had always adhered to the Presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the Parliament, and secretly Transported himself into *Holland* ; and was arrived at *Rotterdam*, when *Bamfield* returned from the Fleet, and went to wait upon the Duke of *York* at the *Hague*. *Bamfield* delivered such a Message from the Fleet as he thought would hasten the Duke’s Journey thither ; and told him, “ the Seamen made great inquiry after the Lord *Willoughby*,

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BOOK XI. "and much longed to have him with them;" insinuating to the Duke, "that he had much contributed to that good disposition in the Seamen, and "was privy to their revolt, and had promised speedily to come to them, and that it would be the most acceptable thing his Highness could do to carry him with him to the Fleet, and make him his Vice-Admiral." The Duke made all imaginable haste to *Helvoet-Sluice*, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was received with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the Lord *Willoughby* his Vice-Admiral, and appointed some other Officers in the several Ships, and seemed very desirous to be out at Sea. In the mean time *Banfield* continued his Activity; and the Doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his Patron to the height he proposed, did all he could to hinder the Operation of *Banfield*, and took all the ways he could that the Prince might be advertised of it, and thereupon hasten his own Journey; which did likewise contribute to the haste his Highness made. He arrived at *Helvoet-Sluice* very seasonably to prevent many inconveniencies, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the Seamen, upon his Highness' appearance, returned again into their old cheerful humor; which the Prince knew would be best preserved by Action; and therefore exceedingly desired to be at Sea, where he was sure he must be Superior to any Force the Parliament could in a short time put out. But the Fleet already wanted many Provisions, of which Beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and assistance of the Prince of *Orange*, was in a short time

procured in a reasonable proportion; and then the Prince set sail first for *Yarmouth-Road*, then for the *Downs*; having sent his Brother, the Duke of *York*, with all his Family to the *Hague*, to remain there.

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The Prince  
comes into  
the Downs  
with the Fleet.

Though the Duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the Fleet, which he had been persuaded to look upon as his Province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reason would not permit they should both be ventured at one time on board the Fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage his own Person, he submitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his Sister. The Prince did not think fit to remove the Lord *Willoughby* (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the Presbyterian Party) from the Charge the Duke had given him; though he was not much known to the Seamen. But Captain *Batten* coming at the same time when his Highness did to the Fleet, and bringing the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best Frigates the Parliament had built, with *Jordan*, and two or three Seamen of good Command, his Highness knighted him, and made him Rear-Admiral of the Fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the Seamen, than by putting the same Man, who had Commanded them so many years, over them again at this time; whose experience and government would supply the defects and want of skill of the Vice-Admiral, who was very willing to be advised by him. But the Prince shortly after found he was mistaken in that expedient, and that the Seamen (who desired to serve the King upon the clear principles of Obedience, and Loyalty) did not in

BOOK any degree affect *Batten*, because he had failed in  
 XI. both, and was now of a Party towards which they  
 had no veneration. The truth is, the Prince came  
 prepared and disposed from the Queen, to depend  
 wholly upon the Presbyterian Party. which, besides  
 the power of the *Scottish* Army, which was every  
 day expected to invade *England*, was thought to be  
 possessed of all the strength of the City of *London*;  
 and the Lord *Colepepper*, and Mr. *Long*, the Prince's  
 Secretary. were trusted by the Queen to keep the  
 Prince steady and fast to that dependance; and his  
 Highness was enjoined to be entirely advised by  
 them; though all the other Lords about him were of  
 another mind, and the Prince himself not inclined  
 that way. Dr. *Steward*, the Dean of the King's Chap-  
 el, whom his Majesty had recommended to his Son to  
 instruct him in all matters relating to the Church, and  
 Dr. *Charles*, and the rest of his Chaplains, waited dili-  
 gently upon him to prevent those Infusions. But, by  
 those two, the benefit of this Fleet was principally  
 considered, as a happy means to put the Prince on  
 Shore, that he might be in the head of the *Scottish*  
 Army; and no doubt if that Army had been then  
 entered into *England*, as it was very shortly after, the  
 Prince would have been directed, with the Fleet,  
 "to have followed all the advice which should have  
 "been sent from the *Scots*."

In the mean time it was though most Counselable,  
 after the Prince had failed some days about the Coast,  
 that the Kingdom might generally know that his  
 Highness was there, that they should all go into the  
 River of *Thames*, and lie still there; by which they

expected two great Advantages; first, that the City would be thereby engaged to declare itself, when they saw all their Trade obstructed; and that their Ships homewards bound, of which, at that Season of the year, they expected many, must fall into the Prince's hands; and then, that the presence of the Prince in the River would hinder the Parliament from getting Seamen, and from setting out that Fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to employ; and who, by accepting the Charge, thought he should be in a better posture to chuse his Party, in any other alteration that should happen at Land.

When the Parliament first heard of the Commotion in *Kent*, and saw the Warrants which were sent out and signed by *L'Estrange*, whom no body knew (and the Gentlemen of *Kent* who sat in the Parliament, assured them, "that there was no such Gentleman in that County;" and Sir *Edward Hales*, who likewise was present there, told them, "he was very confident that his Grandson could not be Embarked in such an Affair)" they neglected it, and thought it a design to amuse them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and saw the Declarations which were published, and were well assured that young *Hales* appeared with them as their General, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their General, "to send two or three Troops of Horse into *Kent* to suppress that seditious Insurrection;" Sir *Edward Hales* now excusing himself with revilings, threats,

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Thence into  
the River of  
Thames.



B O O K and detestation of his Grandson; who, he protested,  
 XI. should never be his Heir.

The Earl of *Holland*, who had a Commission to be General, and the rest who were engaged, were not yet ready, the *Scots* being not yet entered; nor did they understand any thing of the business of *Kent*; however when they were assured that they were drawn into a Body, and were so strong that the Officers who Commanded the Troops which had been sent to suppress them, had sent to the Parliament word, “ that they durst not advance, for that the  
 “ Enemy was much stronger than they, and increased  
 “ daily; and that they had sent a Letter to the City  
 “ of *London* inviting them to join with them; ” the Earl of *Holland* I say, and the others with him, thought it fit to send them all the countenance, and encouragement they could; and thereupon despatched those Officers who had been designed for the Troops of that County, when the Season should be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in *London* to avoid suspicion. They were desired to call their Friends together, as soon as was possible, to join with their Neighbours; and were told “ that  
 “ they should very shortly receive a General from  
 “ the King:” for they did not think Mr. *Hales* equal to the work, who found his Power and Credit to grow less, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they begun to inquire for the King’s Commission. The Earl of *Holland* had formed his Party of many Officers who had served both the King and the Parliament; all which were in the City; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect

the appearance of their Northern Friends, and therefore consulting with the rest, and finding the Earl of *Norwich*, who had been some Months in *England* under a Pass from the Parliament (upon pretence of making his composition, from which he had never been excluded) willing to engage himself in the Conduct of those in *Kent*, where he was well known and beloved, his Affection and Zeal for the King's Service being not to be doubted, they resolved that he should go thither; and there being many blank Commissions ready to be disposed as the Service should require, they filled one with His name, by which the Command of all *Kent* was committed to him, "with power to lead them any whither as the good of the King's Service should make requisite." And with this Commission he made haste into *Kent*, and found at *Maidstone* a better Body of Horse and Foot Armed than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any Army that was like to be brought against them. They all received him with wonderful Acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr. *Hales*, upon the news of another General to be sent thither, and upon the storms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his Grand-father, on the one side, and on his Wife by her Mother on the other side, and upon the Conscience that he was not equal to the Charge, though his Affection was not in the least declined, found means to Transport himself, and Wife, together with his Friend Mr. *L'Estrange*, who had lost his Credit with the People, into *Holland*; resolving, as soon as he had put his Wife out of the reach of her Mother, to return him-

**B O O K** self, and to venture his Person in the Service which  
**XI.** he could not Conduct; which he did quickly after  
 very heartily endeavour to do.

The importunities from *Scotland* with the Presbyterians their Correspondents, the same of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's* being well received at *Edinburgh*, and that many *English* Officers and Soldiers daily flocked thither, but especially the promises from *Paris* of Supplies of Arms, Ammunition, and Money, as soon as they could expect it, set all the other wheels going in *England* which had been preparing all the Winter. There were in South-*Wales* Colonel *Langhorn*, Colonel *Powell*, and Colonel *Poyer*, who Commanded those parts under the Parliament, which they had served from the beginning: the first of them a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune in Land in those Counties, who had been bred a Page under the Earl of *Essex*, when he had a Command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependance upon him afterwards, and was much in his favor, and by that relation was first engaged in the Rebellion, as many other Gentlemen had been without wishing ill to the King: the second was a Gentleman too, but a Soldier of Fortune: the third, had from a low Trade raised himself in the War to the Reputation of a very diligent and stout Officer, and was at this time trusted by the Parliament with the Government of the Town and Castle of *Pembroke*. These three communicated their discontents to each other, and all thought themselves ill requited by the Parliament for the Service they had done, and that other Men, especially Colonel *Mitton*, were preferred  
 before

before them; and resolved to take the opportunity of the *Scots* coming in, to declare for the King upon the Presbyterian Account. But *Langhorn*, who was not infected with any of those freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it should be time, to sober Resolutions, would not engage till he first sent a confident to *Paris* to inform the Prince of what he had determined, and of what their wants consisted, which if not relieved, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive Orders for the time of their declaring, and Assurance that they should in time receive those Supplies they stood in need of. And the Lord *Jermyn* sent him a promise under his hand, “that he should not fail of receiving all the things he had desired, before he could be pressed by the Enemy;” and therefore conjured him, and his Friends, “forthwith to declare for the King; which he assured them would be of singular benefit, and advantage to his Majesty’s Service; since, upon the first notice of their having declared, the *Scottish* Army would be ready to march into *England*.” Hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the Field for want of Ammunition and Money, and when *Pembroke* was not supplied with Provisions for above two Months; and were never thought of after.

The Lord *Byron* had been sent from *Paris*, upon the importunities from *Scotland*, to get as many to declare in *England* in several places, as might distract the Army, and keep it from an entire Engagement against them; to dispose his old Friends about



**BOOK** *Chester* and *North-Wales* to appear as soon as might be: and he presently, with the help of Colonel *Robinson*, possessed himself of the Island of *Anglesey*, and disposed all *North-Wales* to be ready to declare as soon as the *Scots* should enter the Kingdom. But that which was of most importance, and seemed already to have brought the War even into the heart of *England*, was that some Gentlemen, who had formerly served the King in the Garrison of *Newark*, and in the Northern Army, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into *Scotland*, and upon Orders received from him since, when he believed the *Scots* would be in a short time ready to begin their March) surprised the strong Castle of *Pontfret* in *Yorkshire* (which had a Garrison in it for the Parliament) and grew presently so numerous, by the resort of Officers and Soldiers from the adjacent Counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts, and made the Communication between *London* and *York* insecure, except it was with strong Troops. Upon which Argument of the surprise of *Pontfret*, We shall enlarge hereafter, before We speak of the Tragic conclusion of this Enterprize. All Affairs were in this motion in *England*, before there was any appearance of an Army in *Scotland*, which they had promised should be ready to march by the beginning of *May*.

Indeed as to the raising an Army in *Scotland*, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should Command, and be General of this Army was the matter upon which the Success of all

they proposed would depend; and if they could not procure Duke *Hamilton* to be made choice of for that Service, they would promise themselves no good issue of the Undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old General *Lesley*, who had been hitherto in the Head of their Army in all their prosperous Successes, but he was in the confidence of *Argyle*, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the Man was grown old, and appeared, in the Actions of the last Expedition into *England*, very unequal to the Command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the Command, upon pretence of his Age and Infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his Honor against the *English*, except assisted by *English*, which had been his good Fortune in all the Actions of Moment he had performed in this War; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always received some Affront. When by this means there was a new General to be named, Duke *Hamilton* was proposed, as a fit Man to be employed to redeem the Honor of the Nation. He had formerly discharged the Office of General under the King of *Sweden*, where *Lesley*, that had now declined the employment, was Major-General under him, and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of War.

Whilst this was depending. *Argyle* took notice of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave's* being in the Town, and of some discourses which they had used, or some other *English* Officers in their Company, and desired "that, if they were to

BOOK " have any Command in the Army, they might pre-  
 XI. " sently take the Covenant; and that there might  
 " be a general Declaration, that there should be  
 " neither Officer nor Soldier received into their Ar-  
 " my, before he had first taken the Covenant; and  
 " that, after they were entered into the Kingdom  
 " of *England*, they should make no conjunction with  
 " any Forces, or Persons, who had not done, or  
 " should refuse to do the same." This proposal found  
 no opposition; they who were most forward to raise  
 the Army for the delivery of the King, being as vio-  
 lent as any to advance that Declaration. And though  
 Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother of *Lanrick* did as well  
 disapprove it in their own judgments, as they did  
 foresee, out of the long experience they had of *Eng-  
 land*, what prejudice it would bring upon them there,  
 yet they had not the Courage in any degree to speak  
 against it; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the  
 Earl of *Lautherdale* were as passionate for the Ad-  
 vancement of it, as *Argyle* himself; and seemed to  
 think that those two Gentlemen either had already  
 taken, or would be willing to take it.

It can hardly be believed, that, after so long know-  
 ledge of *England*, and their observation of whom  
 the King's Party did consist, after their so often con-  
 ferences with the King without prevailing upon him,  
 in any degree, either to preserve himself at *New-Castle*  
 from being delivered up to the Parliament, or in  
 their last agitation with him, when he yielded to so  
 many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to  
 consent to or promise, "that any Man should be  
 " compelled to take the Covenant;" that they should

still adhere to that fatal Combination against the Church, which they could never hope to bring to pass, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the King under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into Their hands, as he was under the domination of the Parliament and Army : yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the King's Party, and designed no less to oppress Them than the Independents, and Anabaptists ; and upon the news of the revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament to the King. the Insurrection in *Kent*, and other Places, and the general Inclinations throughout the Kingdom for the King, they slackened their preparations, that they might defer their March, to the end that all that strength might be oppressed and reduced, that so they might be absolute Masters after they had prevailed over the Army. And at last, when they could defer their March no longer, upon the importunate pressure of their Friends in *London*, they sent the Earl of *Lautherdale* with those insolent Instructions, which will be mentioned anon, and positively required the Prince immediately to repair to them ; declaring, “ that if his Person should not be “ forthwith in their Army, they would return again “ into *Scotland* without making any attempt ; ” and the knowing this resolution, was the reason that the Queen was so positive in her Instructions, notwithstanding the appearance of any other Advantage to the King in *England*.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* no sooner heard of this Declaration, than they went to



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those Lords, and expostulated very sharply with them, for “having broken their Faiths, and betrayed them into their Country; where they were looked upon as Enemies. They were Answered, that they must give over their design to redeem the King, or yield to this determination, which their Parliament was so firm and united in; and would never depart from.” And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the Covenant; some of them desiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to satisfy them, that the Covenant did not include those things in it, which they thought it did. But when they saw those Gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they resolved presently to leave the Country; and told them, “they would deceive those honest People in *England*, who were too much inclined to trust them; and that they should find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagined;” the *Scottish* Lords knew well enough of what importance their presence was to be to them, for their very entrance into *England*; and thereupon desired them, “that they would have a little patience, and again absent themselves from *Edinborough*, till the heat of this dispute was over, and till the Army should be ready to march;” and Duke *Hamilton*, who had a marvellous insinuation to get himself believed, assured them in confidence, “that as soon as he should find himself in the head of his Army, and upon their march, there should be no more talk of Covenants, but that all the King’s Friends should be welcome, and without distinc-

tion." So they left *Edinburgh* again, and went to their old Quarters; where they had not stayed long, before the Duke sent for them to come to him in private; and, after a very cheerful reception, he told them, "he was now ready; and that their Friends in *England* called so importunately for them, that he was resolved to march in very few days; which he thought necessary to communicate to them; not only for the Friendship he had for them; which would always keep him without reserve towards them; but because he must depend upon them two to surprise the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, against the time he should be able to march thither; for he intended to march between those two Places."

The work was not hard to be performed by them, they having, from their first entrance into *Scotland*, adjusted with their Friends who inhabited near those places, to be ready for that enterprise when they should be called upon; which they then believed would have been much sooner; so that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded Commissions from the Duke for the doing thereof; which he excused himself for not giving, under pretence of "the secrecy that was necessary; in respect whereof he would not trust his own Secretary; and likewise, as a thing unnecessary for the work; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the King, by which they could bring it to pass, and not His Commission; for which those Towns would have no reverence." Besides, he told them, "that the

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“ Marquis of *Argyle* had still protested against their  
 “ beginning the War by any Act of Hostility against  
 “ the *English*, in forcing any of the Towns; which  
 “ was not necessary in order to the King’s deliverance;  
 “ but that an Army might march to the place where  
 “ the King was, to the end that those Messengers who  
 “ were sent by the State to speak with the King, might  
 “ have liberty to speak with his Majesty: which was  
 “ a Right of the Kingdom, and the demanding it  
 “ could be no breach of the Pacification between the  
 “ two Kingdoms.”

This Argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough to sway the Duke. But they foresaw two other reasons, which did Prevail with him not to give those Commissions they desired, which otherwise might have been given with the same secrecy that the business was to be acted with; the one, the Order against giving any Commission to any Man before he had taken the Covenant: And how much Authority forever the Duke might take upon him to dispense with that Order after he should be in *England*, it might not be convenient that he should assume it whilst he remained yet at *Edinburgh*: the other was, that, when they had done it without his Commission, he might, upon his March, or as soon as he came thither, dispossess them of the Government, and put *Scots*. men into their places: the last of which he did not dissemble to them; but confessed “ that, though the Council  
 “ of *Scotland*, would not attempt the taking of those  
 “ Towns, yet when They should be taken, they  
 “ would expect the Government thereof should be in  
 “ Their hands, and depend upon Them, without

“ which they should not be able to send him those 2000  
 “ continual Supplies which he expected from them.” XL

And there being then a recruit of five or six thousand, which Sir *George Monroe* had near raised in the North, and from *Ireland*, who were to begin their March after him, as soon as he should be out of *Scotland*, the two Gentlemen had no purpose of remaining in those Governments, well knowing that their presence would be of importance to the Army, at least whilst they stayed in the Northern Counties; yet they knew well, it was for the Service that those Towns should remain in the hands of the *English*, without which few of the Gentlemen of those Parts would declare themselves, how well affected soever they were; which when they had offered to the Duke, they left it to him, and accepted the employment he pressed them to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpose.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had several Officers, and Soldiers, laid privately on the *Scottish* side to wait his Commands, and more on the *English*; there being two or three good Families within two or three Miles of *Berwick*, who were well affected and ready to appear when they should be required; in expectation whereof they had harboured many Men. Some of them Sir *Marmaduke* appointed to meet him, on the *Scottish* side, at a place about a Mile distant from *Berwick*, the Night before he intended the surprise, and the rest to be in the Town by the rising of the Sun; some about the Market-place, and some upon the Bridge, by which he must enter. The next



**B O O K** Morning, being Market-day, when great droves of  
**XI.** little Horses, laden with sacks of Corn, always resorted to the Town, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with about a hundred Horse, and some few Foot, which walked with the Market-People, presently after Sun-rising, was upon the Bridge, before there was any apprehension; and finding his Friends there whom he expected, he caused the Bridge presently to be drawn up, and guarded by his Foot, and sent others to the other parts. Himself with most of his Troops went into the Market-place where he found his Country-Friends ready to do all he would Command. There was so general a consternation seized upon the whole Town, there being no other Garrison but Townsmen, that after they had seized upon the Mayor, who was the Governor, all things were in a short time so quiet, that they opened their Ports again, that the Market might not be interrupted. Sir *Philip Musgrave*, with a little opposition, possessed himself of *Carlisle*; where he had a greater Interest; and the People were generally better affected to the King, and more disinclined to the Scots than those of *Berwick* used to be; and they both hastened advertisement to the Duke of what they had done.

Sir M. Langdale surprises Berwick, and Sir P. Musgrave Carlisle soon after.

It will be much wondered at, that after *Cromwell* plainly foresaw they should have a War with *Scotland*, and had constant Intelligence from thence of the Advances they made, he did not take care to put Garrisons into those two important places, the very strength of which could for some time have withstood all the power which *Scotland* could have brought against them. But the same reason which

had been current at *Edinburgh* to this very time, had prevailed at *Westminster*. It was specially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms, when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms combined against the King, "that there should be no more Garrisons kept on either side in *Berwick* or *Carlisle*;" where they were then disbanded, and some of their Fortifications slighted; which could easily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an Enemy for some time. And the Parliament would not now permit any Men to be sent thither, that the *Scots* might not pretend that the War was begun by Them; but left *Berwick* to the Government of the Mayor and the Citizens; who could have defended themselves against the *Scots* if they had expected them. But the truth is, *Cromwell* had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of that Nation, that he never cared what Advantage-ground they had upon any Field, or what place they ever possessed.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* were no sooner possessed of *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, than all the Gentlemen, Officers, and Soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly served the King, resorted and flocked to them well Armed, appointed, and provided for the War; so that they had not only very sufficient Garrisons to keep those places, but Troops enough of Horse to free the adjacent Counties from those Forces, and Committees, and other Persons, who were either publicly engaged in, or well known privately to wish well to the Parliament. It was upon the 28<sup>th</sup> of *April* that Sir *Marmaduke Lang-*

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**E O O H** *dale* possessed himself of *Berwick*; and soon after Sir  
**XI.** *Philip Musgrave* surprised *Carlisle*, about eight of the  
 Clock at night, many Gentlemen of the Neighbours  
 being in, and about the Town expecting his Arrival;  
 so that the Citizens were in confusion, and made little  
 resistance. It is very true, they had both given under  
 their hands to Duke *Hamilton*, that they would de-  
 liver up the Towns to him when he should require  
 them; he having assured them, "that the King had  
 " promised, under his hand, that those two Towns  
 " should be delivered into the possession of the *Scots*;"  
 which it must needs be supposed that they should  
 first take from the Parliament, in whose possession  
 they were both when the King signed the Engage-  
 ment at *Carisbrooke*-Castle. And the Duke had not  
 only refused to give them any Men, or other Assis-  
 tance towards the taking them, but, as hath been  
 said, would not grant them his Commission to per-  
 form it; pretending "that he durst not do it, be-  
 " cause they were bound not to begin the War:"  
 only He, and the other Lords of his Fraternity, pro-  
 mised "to send five hundred Muskets, and ten  
 " Barrels of Powder to each Garrison; and that  
 " their whole Army should march into *England*  
 " within twenty days; and that, if they were sooner  
 " in distress, they should be sure to be relieved."

But after he heard that both places were possessed  
 by them, he deferred not to send a Governor and  
 Garrison to receive *Berwick*; to whom Sir *Marmaduke*  
*Langdale* delivered it according to his promise; and  
 was required "to march with all the *English* to the  
 " parts adjacent to *Carlisle*, and there to increase his

“ Troops to what Number he could, with what expedition was possible ;” which he performed so effectually, that, in very few days, he had a Rendezvous upon a Heath within five Miles of *Carlisle*, where he Mustered above three thousand Foot well Armed, and seven hundred Horse not so well Armed ; all which were raised in *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*, over and above the Garrison of *Carlisle* ; which yet remained under Sir *Philip Musgrave* ; and, within two days, five hundred Horse, very well appointed, came out of *Yorkshire*, the Bishopric of *Durham*, and the Neighbour parts ; so that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* resolved presently to march into *Lancashire*, to reduce those who were for the Parliament there ; which he could easily have done, the Lord *Byron* being ready upon the Borders of *Cheeshire* to have joined with him. But this quick advance and progress towards an Army, was not well looked upon at *Edinburgh* ; and an Express was despatched with positive Orders to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* “ not to engage or fight with the Enemy, upon what advantage soever, until the *Scottish* Army should come up.” And wherever that Express should overtake Sir *Marmaduke* he was immediately to retire with his Forces near *Carlisle* ; which he obeyed as soon as he received the Order, and when he might have marched against *Lambert* ; who was sent before with a less strength than Sir *Marmaduke* Commanded, and which in all probability would have been Defeated.

But, as if this had not been discouragement enough, within one or two days after that Express, Letters were sent from the Council in *Scotland*, by which Sir



**B O O K** *Marmaduke Langdale* was very severely reprehended,  
 XI. “ for receiving Papists into his Army, and not own-  
 “ ing the Covenant in the Declarations which he had  
 “ published;” and told, “ that he should receive no  
 “ Assistance from Them, except the Covenant was  
 “ embraced by all his Army.” This struck at the  
 root of all their hopes; and was so contrary to all  
 the Engagements they had received from the *Scottish*  
*Lords*, both by Words and Letters, “ that they  
 “ should never be troubled with any such motions,  
 “ after they were once upon *English* ground; and  
 “ that then they should proceed upon those Grounds  
 “ as were like to bring in most Men to their Assist-  
 “ ance;” that Sir *Marmaduke* prevailed with Sir  
*Philip Musgrave* to make a Journey forthwith to  
*Edinburgh*, to expostulate upon the whole matter,  
 and declare their firm Resolution to the *Lords* there.

Sir *Philip Musgrave*, that it might appear that they  
 did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant,  
 and were willing to join with them, carried a list with  
 him of the names of many Officers in their Troops  
 who had been compelled to take the Covenant be-  
 fore they could be admitted to composition, or pro-  
 cure the Sequestrations to be taken from their Estates,  
 and of some others who had taken it for quietness sake  
 in the places where they lived; with which the *Scots*  
 were in some degree mitigated, but seemed to retain  
 still their rigor, that it should be submitted to by the  
 whole Army.

In the mean time *Lambert*, having gotten a strong  
 Body of Horse and Foot, advanced upon Sir *Marma-*  
*duke Langdale*; who being enjoined not to Fight,

*Lambert*  
*marches*  
*against them.*

was forced to retire to *Carlisle*, and suffer himself to be, upon the matter. blocked up on one side, whilst he sent Letter upon Letter to the Duke "to hasten his March or to send some Troops to his Assistance, and Liberty to Fight the Enemy.

The Earl of *Norwich* had found the Assembly at *Maidstone* very numerous, but likewise very disorderly, and without Government. nor easy to be reduced under any Command. They had been long enough together to enter into jealousies of one another, and from thence into Factions, and were of several opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire submission and obedience to the Earl of *Norwich* as their General, yet no Man forbore to deliver his opinion of Things and Persons, nor to inquire by what means they had first been drawn together; which implied that many Men wished they had been to begin again. The Earl was a Man fitter to have drawn such a Body together by his frolic and pleasant humor, which reconciled People of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any Enterprize. He had always lived in the Court in such a station of business as raised him very few Enemies; and his pleasant and jovial Nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many Friends, at least made many delight in his Company. So that by the great favor he had with the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he stood in with any Body else, he was very like, if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes, to have grown Master of a very fair Fortune; which was all that he proposed to himself.

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The Earl of  
Norwich at  
Maidstone  
with the  
Kentish  
Forces.

200X But he had no experience or knowledge of the War,  
 XI. nor knew how to exercise the Office he had taken  
 upon him of General, but was very willing to please  
 every Man, and comply with every Body's humor;  
 which was quickly discovered; and so Men with-  
 drew the Reverence they were prepared to have paid  
 him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions  
 what was to be done; and the indisposition increased,  
 when they heard that *Fairfax* himself was appointed  
 to march towards them. They who best understood  
 the Affair, and how to apply the strength they had to  
 the best advantage, advised "that they might retire  
 " beyond *Rocheſter*, and by breaking down the Bridge  
 " there, and Fortifying another Paſs or two, which  
 " was eaſy to be done, they might keep the Enemy  
 " from entering into the Eaſt of *Hent*" (which was the  
 largeſt and beſt part of that rich and populous County)  
 " longer than they would be able to continue the at-  
 " tempt, for fear of being incloſed by an Enemy at  
 " their back, if the City of *London*, or thoſe of *Effex*,  
 " who were moſt ſpoken of, had a mind to declare for  
 " the King; and by this means they might be ſure of  
 " a correſpondence with the Fleet;" of the return  
 whereof in a ſhort time they were moſt confident; and  
 the more, becauſe ſome Gentlemen of their own Body  
 were on board the Fleet in ſome Authority. who, they  
 knew, would haſten their return all they could.

Many were the more perſuaded that the Fleet was  
 gone to the Iſle of *Wight* for the reſcue of the King,  
 becauſe thoſe Gentlemen were gone in it. And with-  
 out doubt that advice was the moſt reaſonable, and if  
 it had been purſued might have kept the Enemy at a

Bay

Bay for some time. But other Men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe "that *Fairfax* could have leisure to look after them; they were so confident that the Parliament had so many Enemies to look after, those in *Wales* growing strong, and having beaten the Party that had been sent against them; and the Officers in the North, who had seized upon *Ponfret Castle* in *Yorkshire*, and had drawn in a strong Garrison from the parts adjacent, had a Body of Horse, that infested all those parts; and the *Scots* were upon their march for *England*; and therefore they concluded that *Fairfax* could not be at leisure to visit them: The coming would be an Argument of fear, which would dishearten their Friends at *London*, and all those of that part of *Kent*, which must be deserted upon their Retreat, would desert them, as soon as that resolution should be known;" and therefore they desired, "that they might all march towards *Black Heath*; which would raise the Spirits of their Friends, and many would resort every day to them out of *London* and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well affected."

The Noise for this was the greater, and the Earl of *Northampton* himself was thereby swayed to be of that opinion; and so they resolved to advance, and a short day was appointed for a general Rendezvous upon *Black Heath*; and Orders were sent out accordingly.

The disturbance in so many places made the resolution of the General now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, "that *Fairfax* himself was not willing to march against the *Scots*;"



**B O O K** which was not now Counselable for him to do. *Crom-*  
**XI.** *well* was very willing to take that Province to himself,  
 and had always so great a contempt of the *Scots*, that  
 he was willing to march with a much lesser Number  
 than he well knew the *Scottish* Army to consist of;  
 and being informed which way the *Scots* resolved to  
 enter the Kingdom, and that they were even ready  
 to march, he advanced to meet them, as soon as they  
 should be entered, with those Troops which he had  
 made choice of, having first suppressed the Risings  
 in *South-Wales* by taking of *Pembroke-Castle*, and  
 making Prisoners therein *Langhorn*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*,  
 the heads of that Insurrection, and not troubling him-  
 self with *Pontfret-Castle*, which he thought would not  
 be of great consequence, if the *Scots* were subdued.

*Cromwell*  
*advances*  
*against the*  
*Scots:*

*Fairfax*, with a numerous part of the Army, re-  
 mained in and about *London* to suppress the Insurrec-  
 tion in *Kent*, and watch any other which should fall  
 out in the City or thereabouts; of which they had  
 more apprehension than of all the power of *Scotland*.  
 And so when the Parliament was advertised by their  
 Troops which were first sent, that they were too  
 weak to advance farther, and heard that the Earl of  
*Norwich* was declared General of the *Kentish* Troops,  
 and was marching in the head of them towards *Black-*  
*Heath*, *Fairfax* drew all his Army together, and his  
 Cannon, and marched over *London-Bridge* to meet  
 the Men of *Kent* at *Black-Heath*, and to stop their  
 march to *London*. The Earl was now advanced so  
 far, and *Fairfax* advanced too fast to put the former  
 Counsel in practice, of breaking down the Bridges,  
 and keeping the Passes, and they who had opposed

*Fairfax a-*  
*gainst the*  
*Kentish Men*

that Counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The Country-men were weary of being all night in the Field, though it was the warmest Season of the Year, and many withdrew themselves every day; so that they who remained had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that marched towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore, as *Fairfax* advanced, the *Kentish* Forces drew back; made several stands; but, being hard pressed, they divided, some retiring to *Rocheſter*, others to *Maidſtone*. Those at *Maidſtone* had a sharp Encounter with the General's whole strength, and fought very bravely, but were at last Defeated. In the mean time the Earl of *Norwich*, and divers other Officers who were with the Party at *Rocheſter*, quitting that place, marched back towards *London*, in hope still of the City's joining with them. But that failing, and apprehending *Fairfax* would be soon in their Rear, the Earl and those who remained, and designed to run the utmost hazard, resolved to pass themselves and their Horses by such Boats as they had ready about *Greenwich*, and down the River, over into *Essex*, where they knew they had many Friends, and where *Fairfax* and his Army could not visit them in some days. So they made a shift to transport themselves to the number of near a thousand Men, Horse and Foot; whereof many were Officers and Soldiers who had served the King, and young Gentlemen grown up in Loyal Families, who had been too young to appear before.

The Earl of  
Norwich, and  
some Forces,  
transport  
themselves  
into Essex;  
and fix in  
Colcheſter.

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They found many Persons in *Essex* ready to join with them, who came sooner together than they intended, upon the Alarm of *Kent*; and who had purposed to have passed over into *Kent* to have joined with, and assisted those who had so frankly appeared for the King, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to Them. There was the brave Lord Capel, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, all excellent Officers. There was Sir Bernard Gascoign, and many other Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, who had drawn together many Soldiers. To these joined Colonel *Harr*; who had served the Parliament, and was a known creature and confident of the Earl of *Warwick's*, and had at that time the Command of *Languard-Point*, a Fort of importance upon the Sea; so that when they were all come together, with those who came from *Kent*, they made a Body of above three thousand Horse and Foot, with Officers enough to have formed and commanded a very good Army.

They well knew *Fairfax* would quickly visit them, and therefore they chose to post themselves in *Colchester*, a great and populous Town, which though unfortified, they cast up such works before the Avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an Assault; and resolved to expect a conjunction with either of their Friends; and were in great hopes that the *Scottish* Army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be distressed.

They had scarce put themselves and the Town, which was not glad of their company, into any

order, before *Fairfax* came upon them; who made no stay in *Kent*, after he heard what was become of the Earl of *Norwich* and his Friends; but left two or three Troops of Horse to settle that County, with the assistance of their Committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now Victorious knew well enough how to deal with those who had revolted from them. When he came first before *Colchester*, and saw it without any Fortifications, he thought presently to have entered the Town with his Army; but he found so rude resistance, that by the advice of *Ireton*, who was left by *Cromwell* to watch the General as well as the Army, he resolved to encompass it with his Troops, and without hazarding the loss of Men to block them up, till Famine should reduce them; and disposed his Army accordingly; which quickly stopped up all Passages, by which either Men or Provisions should get into the Town; though by many brave Sallies from within, their Quarters were often beaten up, and many valiant Men were lost on both sides.

*Fairfax be-  
sieges them.*

The Fleet, after it had, with all imaginable cheerfulness, submitted to the Command of the Prince, was not so active as it was expected it should be; and was very much the worse for the Factions, and Divisions, which were amongst those who attended upon the Prince; who, according to their several humors, endeavoured to work upon the Seamen; a People capable of any impression, but not very retentive of it. Prince *Rupert*, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, upon many old contests in the late War, love the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not of

*Factions in  
the Prince's  
Fleet.*



O O R a temper that cared to court him: and there was one,  
XI. who had the greatest influence on Prince *Rupert*,  
*Herbert* the Attorney-General that of all Men living  
was most disposed to make discord and disagreement  
between Men; all his faculties being resolved into a  
spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling  
upon any thing that was proposed. He having no  
title or pretence to interpose in Councils, and yet  
there being no secret in the Debates there, found it  
easy to infuse into Prince *Rupert*, who totally resigned  
himself to his Advice, such Arguments as might dis-  
turb any Resolution: and there were so many who  
were angry that they were not admitted into the  
Council, as the Lords *Piercy*, *Wilmot*, and *Wentworth*,  
that it was no hard matter to get any thing disliked  
that was resolved there. They had all that admission  
and countenance from the Prince, that they had as  
much confidence to speak to, and before him, as any  
where else. Prince *Rupert* had a great mind that some-  
what should be attempted upon the Coast, which  
might have caused some Sea-Towns, and the parts  
adjacent, to have declared for the King; which seemed  
not a design that would bear a reasonable discourse.  
But Action was a very grateful word to the Seamen,  
and they who opposed any thing that tended toward  
it, were looked upon with great jealousy and preju-  
dice. But the Prince was obliged, as hath been said,  
by his Instructions at *Paris*, not to engage himself in  
any thing that might divert him from being ready at  
the minute when the *Scots* should call for his pre-  
sence; and they expected the first intimation of that  
from *London*; from whence they had the assurance

already, that Duke *Hamilton* was entered into the Kingdom with an Army of above thirty thousand Men; which was then generally thought true, though they fell far short of the number.

When the Prince came with the Fleet into the Sea from *Helvoet-Sluice*, he met a Ship of *London* bound for *Rotterdam*, and laden with Cloth by the Company of Merchant-Adventurers, who did not think that the Fleet could have been so soon ready for Sea. This Ship was taken, and the Decks being Sealed up, was kept under Guard with the Fleet; which, at their Entrance into the River of *Thames*, took many other Ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all Vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East India-Ship richly Laden, and the more welcome because the Ship itself was a very strong Ship, and would make an excellent Man of War, and the Captain thereof was a Seaman of Courage, and Experience, and was very well inclined to serve the King: and, without doubt, if all the Ships which were then taken, had been sent into some secure Ports, the value of the Goods would have mounted to so great a Sum, as might have countervailed a very great Expence at Sea and Land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure Port, where that Treasure might have been deposited, so it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his Royal Highness' proceedings. The City of *London* was to be courted by all the Artifices imaginable, and that was so alarmed by the Fleet's being in the River, and by the Seizure of so many of their Ships, especially the Cloth-

B O O K  
XI.

It enters the  
River of  
Thames;  
takes several  
Ships.

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Ship, that there was a general consternation amongst the People: and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen applied themselves to the Parliament, for leave to send down some Agents to the Fleet to procure a release of that Ship; and if that could not be brought to pass, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing such a Commerce and Correspondence between the Fleet and the City, in such a conjuncture of jealousy, that most Men believed the Parliament would never have hearkened to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another sort of Treasure inclosed in that Ship, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of those who granted that indulgence to the City, had more Money on board that Vessel than the Cloth was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no less than forty thousand pounds.

Commission  
e sent to  
e Prince  
on the  
y with a  
dition.

Upon this liberty granted by the Parliament a Committee was sent from the City with a Petition to the Prince of Wales, "that he would restore the Ship which belonged to his Father's good Subjects." With these Men came Letters from some of those who were well known to be very solicitous at that time for the advancement of the King's Service, and privy to the Treaty with the Scots, and whatever was intended by the Earl of Holland: The Countess of Carlisle, who was trusted by all that People, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen, trusted Mr. Lowe, who was employed by the City in this Negotiation, to say many things to the Prince of the good inclinations of the City, and how necessary it was not to irritate it. And he brought

other Letters, and Testimonies to give him credit, as a Man trusted by all who intended to serve the King, who had with wonderful Address got him to be one of those employed by the City, that he might, under that security, give such Animadversions to the Prince, and to his Council, as was necessary. He was a Man intelligent enough of the spirit and humor of the City, and very conversant with the Nobility and Gentry about the Town; and though he was trusted by the Presbyterian Party, as a Man entirely addicted to Them, he took pains to insinuate himself into many of the King's Party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a Man of so voluble a Tongue, and so everlasting a Talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober Man could be imposed upon by him.

Upon the receipt of this Petition, the Prince writ a long Letter to the City, and inclosed in it a Declaration, for the publishing of both which in Print care was taken, the substance of which was, "the great affection he bore to the City, and the prosperity thereof" the whole being in such a Style as might best please the Presbyterians, with less care than should have been used to preserve the Zeal of the King's Party; and desiring "that they should join with him for the delivery of the King his Father out of Prison, and to make a good understanding between his Majesty and the Parliament, which his Highness desired with all imaginable concernment. The Citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their Ship released without a good Sum of Money, which the Prince told them "was

B O O K  
XI.

The Prince  
writes to the  
City.



B O O K “ absolutely necessary for the payment of the Sea-  
 XI. “ men, and he would receive it as a loan from them,  
 “ and repay it when a Peace should be made” So  
 some of them returned to *London*, and the rest re-  
 mained with the Fleet, coming and going for a  
 Month, and driving many bargains for other Ships.  
 By this means the Prince received Advertisment of  
 the *Scots* continuing their march, and that those who  
 were inclosed in *Colchester*, were in a very good  
 condition, and willing to expect relief; which they  
 would be sure to receive in due time, the Earl of  
*Holland* being ready to declare as soon as their pres-  
 sures should require it. After near a Month's nego-  
 tiation, there was about twelve thousand pounds  
 paid to the Prince, and thereupon that Cloth-Ship  
 was delivered to the Merchants, with a general  
 opinion, as hath been said, that there was some-  
 what else besides Cloth in the Body of it; for which  
 there was not any Search suffered to be made.

Whilst the Prince lay in the *Downs*, there was an  
 Enterprize necessary to be made on Shore, which  
 did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the  
 Fleet from the Parliament, and before it set sail for  
*Holland*, it had taken one or two of those Block-  
 Houses, or Castles, which are nearest the *Downs*;  
 and had left some Seamen in them, with sufficient  
 Provisions to defend themselves till the Fleet should  
 return. The Prince found these Block-Houses be-  
 sieged, and received Intelligence out of them, that  
 their Provisions were so near spent, that they could  
 not hold out above so many days. The strength that  
 lay before them, consisted more in Horse than Foot;

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and at high Tide the Boats might go so near, that there seemed little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the Besiegers to rise: and the Seamen, having nothing else to do, offered to undertake the Service for the redemption of their Fellows; many Land Officers being likewise on board, and some Foot-Soldiers, the Prince sent some of those with the Seamen to undertake the business, but it had no good issue; the Tide was too far spent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their Landing and the Castle than they imagined, and the Horse charged them with such resolution, that many of the Men were killed, and more taken Prisoners, and the Rest forced to their Boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the Block-Houses at last came into the hands of the Enemy; which, though of little inconvenience to the Prince, those Forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there was some disreputation in it; and it discredited the designs, which had not yet appeared very prosperous in any place; and any access of good Fortune raised the Spirits of the Parliament-Party, who easily were persuaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under some Mortification.

By this time another Fleet was prepared by the Parliament of more and better Ships than had Revolted, and the Command thereof given to the Earl of Warwick; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the Tide was come within sight of the Prince; and there dropped Anchor.

The Parliament prepared a Fleet against the Revolted Fleet under Command of the Earl of Warwick.

**B O O K** So that both Fleets lay within that distance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a Battle; to which there seemed all alacrity in the Prince's Fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the Intelligence that the other was not well Manned, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the King; which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from Imagination or Intelligence, it seemed to have no foundation in truth.

**XI.**

The Prince  
writes to the  
Earl of War-  
wick. His  
Answer.

The Earl of *Warwick* and his Fleet appeared resolute and prepared enough for an Engagement: yet it was well known, that the Earl was privy to the Engagement of his Brother the Earl of *Holland*, and had promised to join with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the Prince should write to the Earl to summon, or invite him to return to his Allegiance. This was sent by *Harry Seymour*, who quickly returned with an Answer from the Earl, which, in terms of Duty enough, humbly besought his Highness "to put himself into the hands of the Parliament; and that the Fleet with him might submit to their Obedience; upon which they should be pardoned for their Revolt."

Though this might well have satisfied concerning the Earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevailed with that Mr. *Crofts* might give the Earl a visit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having Married his Aunt, might be able to get a private Audience of the Earl; which *Seymour* endeavoured, but could not obtain. But *Crofts* returned as the other did; and now there wanted only a Wind to bring them toge-

ther, which coming fair for the Prince, he resolved to attack them. All Anchors were weighed, and preparations made to advance to the Assault, the whole Fleet being under Sail towards the other; which seemed equally resolved and disposed, though the Wind, which drove the Prince upon them, compelled them a little to retire, where the River was somewhat narrower. In an instant the Wind ceased, and there was a Calm; so that the Prince could not advance; and some doubts arose, upon the narrowing of the River, as if some of his Ships might want Water in the Engagement. In this denberation the Wind rose again, but from another Quarter, which was directly in the Prince's face; and I would not suffer him to move towards the Enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the River. Hereupon were new consultations; great want of Provisions was discovered to be in the Fleet, insomuch as that they should not be able to stay at Sea above ten days, and many Ships would want sooner, and therefore since the Earl of *Warwick*, as the Wind stood, could not be compelled to Fight, and they were in danger to be distressed for Provisions, it was thought most Counsellable to put to Sea; where they could more commodiously engage in a Battle, if the Earl of *Warwick* would advance; and if he did not, there was great reason to hope, that the Prince might meet with those Ships which were coming from *Portsmouth* to join with the Earl, and which might easily be surpris'd or taken by the Prince's Fleet; which was much superior to them in strength.

At this time the Earl of *Lautherdale* arrived in a



**B O O K** Ship from *Scotland*; and having left Duke *Hamilton*  
**XI.** upon his march towards *Berwick*, he was sent to

The Prince  
went to Sea  
towards Hol-  
land, after  
having re-  
turned to  
fight the Earl  
of *Warwick*.

demand the performance of the Treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair to that Army. This confirmed the Prince in the purpose of putting out to Sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry the Fleet first into *Holland*, before it could transport him into the Northern parts. So the whole Fleet went to Sea, and continued their course for *Holland*, with hope till to meet with those Ships which were coming from *Portsmouth*. And meet with them they did in the Night; which the Prince knew not till the Morn- ing; when one put the fault upon another; and it was now necessary to make all possible haste to *Holland*, since by the conjunction with these Ships, besides all other Advantages, the Earl of *Warwick* was now become superior in the number, as well as the strength and goodness of his Ships; which appeared by his coming before *Helvoet-Sluice*, within few days after the Prince's arrival there.

The Earl of  
*Warwick*  
follows him  
towards Hol-  
land.

Duke *Ha-*  
milton enters  
England about  
the middle of  
July.

It was near the middle of *July*, when Duke *Hamilton* entered into *England* with his Army, when he came to *Carlisle*, and immediately took that Government from Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and drew out all the *English* Garrison, and put *Scots* in their place. And after some few days stay there, the *English* and *Scottish* Forces met at a Rendezvous, in the way to that part of *Cumber-land* where *Lambert* then Quartered: and if they had continued their March, as they ought to have done, it is very probable they had broken that Body of *Lambert's*. But the Duke would Quarter that Night two Miles short; and *Lambert*, in the same Night,

The Duke's  
march.

marched from thence in great disorder and confusion to the edge of *Yorkshire*. The Duke rested many days, that all his Forces might come up, which came slowly out of *Scotland*. As soon as they were come up, he marched to *Kendal*; where he rested again several days; the reason whereof no body could imagine. It was suspected it was that those Forces which were up in several parts of the Kingdom for the King, might undergo some defeat, that they might not be so united, as to control or obstruct the Presbyterian design. For after that Army was entered into *England*, it moved, as hath been said, by such very slow Marches, and so negligently, and with so little apprehension of an Enemy, and it was Quartered at so great a distance, that the head-Quarter was very often twenty Miles distant from some part of the Army; the Duke himself performing no part of the office of a General, but taking his ease, and being wholly governed by the Lieutenant-General of the Army, and two or three other Officers.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* marched, with his Body of *English*, consisting of near four thousand Foot, and seven or eight hundred Horse, always a day before the Army; by which they intended to have timely Advertisement of the Enemies motion, and likewise meant that he should bear the first brunt of them, desiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of *August*, when Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* Advertised the Duke, by an Express, "that he had received unquestionable Intelligence that *Cromwell* was within two or three days march, and

B O O K  
 XI.

Sir M. Lang-  
 dale a day  
 before him.

BOOK XI. "resolved to engage his Army as soon as possibly  
 " he could, and that he would not be diverted from  
 " it, by the People's gathering together at any dis-  
 " tance from him, in what posture soever;" and  
 " therefore desired his Grace, " that he would keep his  
 " Army close together; for they could not be far  
 " asunder with any security;" and declared; " that  
 " he himself would rest, and wait the advance of the  
 " Enemy, and then retire back as he should find it  
 " necessary."

Sir M. Lang-  
 dale gives him  
 an Account of  
 the English  
 Army.

The Duke, notwithstanding this Advertisement, reformed not the Order of his March in any degree, but was persuaded " that the Enemy could not be so  
 " near; and that, if *Cromwell* was advanced to such  
 " a distance, it was only with such a Party, as he  
 " would not presume to engage with their whole  
 " Army." In this confidence, he marched as he had  
 " done before. Sir *Marmaduke* sent him every day advice  
 " that confirmed the former, " and that his Horse had  
 " encountered some of the Enemy, and that their  
 " whole Body was at hand; but that it was true, it  
 " was not a Body equal in number to their Army,  
 " yet all that *Cromwell* expected was to join Battle  
 " with him." All this gained not credit, till Sir *Marmaduke* himself, making his retreat with very sharp Skirmishes, in which many Men fell on both sides, was pursued into the head-Quarters of the Duke; whither he likewise brought with him some Prisoners, who averred, that the whole Body of the Army was within five or six Miles, and marched as fast as they were able.

The Duke was confounded with the Intelligence,  
 and

and knew not what to do: the Army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no show of any purpose to fight. In this Amazement, the Duke stayed himself with some Officers at *Preston*; and caused his Foot to be drawn over a Bridge, that they might march towards *Wiggan*, a Town in *Lancashire*, where he should, as he thought, find some Regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In the mean time Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* returned to his Troops, the Duke having promised to send him some Troops to assist, and that some Foot should be sent to keep a Lane. that would Flank his Men upon his retreat. Sir *Marmaduke* retired before the Enemy, and drew up his Troops into the Clofes near *Preston*. The Enemy followed him close, and pressed him very hard; notwithstanding which he maintained the dispute for above six hours with great Courage, and with very great loss to the Enemy in Officers, and Common Soldiers; insomuch as they seemed to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the *Scots* sent him no Assistance, but concluded that it was not *Cromwell's* whole Army that assaulted him, but only some Party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* told me often afterwards, “ that he verily believed, if one thousand Foot had “ then been sent to him, he should have gained the “ day:” and *Cromwell* himself acknowledged, that he never saw Foot Fight so desperately as They did.

The *Scots* continued their march over the Bridge. without taking care to secure the Lane, which he had



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XI.

and Duke Hamilton routed.

recommended to them; by which *Cromwell's* Horse came upon his Flank, whilst he was equally pressed in the Van. So that his excellent Body of Foot being broken, Sir *Marmaduke*, and such of his Horse as kept together, were driven into the Town; where the Duke remained yet with some Officers; who all retreated over a Ford to the Foot, who were in equal disorder. For as soon as the *English* Forces were broken, the *Scots* were presently beaten from the Bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the Duke had still a great part of his own Army together; with which he continued to march two or three days to *Wiggan*; thence, to *Warrington*; where *Bailly* Capitulated, and delivered up all the Foot; thence to *Nantwich*, and at last to *Uxeter*; and in all that time many of the *Scottish* Noblemen forsook him, and rendered themselves Prisoners to the Gentlemen of the Country; and *Cromwell's* Troops under *Lambert*, pressed so hard upon the Rear, that they killed, and took as many Prisoners as they pleased, without hazarding their own Men. The Duke was scarce got into *Uxeter*, when his Troops, which made no resistance, were beaten in upon him, and so close pursued by *Cromwell's* Horse under *Lambert*, that himself and all the principal Officers (some few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their Horses, made their escape) were taken Prisoners: the Duke neither behaving himself like a General, nor with that Courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all submissions, and all excuses to those who took him.

The Duke taken.

Thus his whole Army was Routed, and Defeated;

more killed out of contempt, than that they deserved it by any opposition; the rest taken Prisoners, all their Cannon and Baggage taken, and their Colors; only some of their Horse, which had been Quartered most backward, made haste to carry news to their Country of the ill success of their Arms. They who did not take the way for *Scotland*, were for the most part taken by the activity of the Country, or the Horse that pursued them; whereof Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with some of his Officers and Soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the ill Fortune to be discovered; and was so taken Prisoner, and sent to the Castle of *Nottingham*. All this great Victory was got by *Cromwell* with an Army amounting to a third part of the *Scots* in Number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminished half a hundred in obtaining this Victory, after the *English* Forces under *Langdale* had been defeated.

Sir M. Lang-  
dale taken.

It may be proper now to mention, that the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had many misadventures; which detained them from attending upon the Prince in the Fleet. As soon as they heard that his Highness had put himself on board a Ship at *Calais* to find the Fleet in *Holland*, they embarked at *Dieppe*, in a *French* Man of War that was bound for *Dunkirk*; where when they arrived, they found a Gentleman, a Servant of the Prince's, who informed them, "that the Prince was with the whole Fleet in the Downs, and that he had sent him with a Letter to the Marshal *Ranzaw*, who was Governor of *Dunkirk*, to borrow a Frigate of him;" which

B O O K he had there, and had by some civil Message offered  
XI. to lend to his Highness; and the Marshal, who received them with great civility, assured them that the Frigate should be ready the next day, and if they pleased to make use of it, should carry them to the Prince.

They looked upon it as a good opportunity, which would deliver them much sooner at the Fleet, than they had before expected to be; and so, without weighing the Dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at Sea but that they might be taken by the Parliament-Ships; which, by the Prince's being with his Fleet in the *Downs*, and so being Master at Sea, was hardly possible. So they unwarily put themselves into that Frigate, and set Sail in the Evening from *Dunkirk*; presuming that they should, the next Morning, find themselves in the *Downs* with the Prince. But there was so dead a calm that Night, that they made very little way; and, the next Morning, they found that they were chased by six or seven Frigates of *Ostend*. In short, they were taken Prisoners, and plundered of all they had (which amounted to a good value in Jewels and Money) and were carried into *Ostend*, where, though they were presently at liberty, they were compelled to stay many days not without some hope, raised by the civility of the *Spanish* Governor, and the Lords of the Admiralty there, who very liberally promised an entire restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect, that brutish People, the Freebooters,

being subject to no Government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that happened, and that they would attend his Command at *Flushing*; whither they easily went. Within few days after, the Prince, out of the *Downs*, sent a Frigate for them to *Flushing*; where they embarked several times, and were at Sea the whole Night, and in the Morning driven back by high Winds, sometimes into *Flushing*, sometimes to *Ramikins*; and so were compelled to go to *Middleborough*; and after a Month's stay in those places, and many attempts to get to Sea, they received Order from the Prince to attend him in *Holland*, whither he had resolved to go, as soon as the Earl of *Lautherdale* arrived from *Scotland* in the Fleet, and had delivered his imperious invitation for the Prince's immediate repair to the *Scottish* Army; which was then entered into *England*. By this means they came not to the Prince, till the next day after he came to the *Hague*, having left the Fleet before *Goree* and near *Helvoet-Sluice*.

The Prince  
comes to the  
*Hague*.

The Prince was received by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge; his Royal Highness every Night lodging in the Palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of *Orange* and the Princess lay, and where both his Royal Highness and the Duke of *York* had very good apartments; the Prince and Duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Princess Royal, the Prince of *Orange* himself keeping his own Table open, according to custom, for the resort of such of the States, or Officers of the Army, or other Noble Persons, who frequently repaired thither,



## BOOK

## XI

Divisions  
among the  
Prince of  
Wales' Court

The Prince of *Wales*' Court was full of Faction, and Animosity against each other, so that the newcomers were not only very well received by the Prince, but very welcome to every Body, who being angry with the other Counsellors there, believed that matters would be better carried now. They were come. They had not been an hour in the *Hague*, when *Herbert* the Attorney-General came to them, and congratulated their arrival, and told them "how much they had been wanted and how much Prince *Rupert* longed for their Company." And within a very short time after, Prince *Rupert* himself came to bid them welcome, with all possible grace, and profession of great kindness and esteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly against the whole administration of the Fleet, in which most part of the Court, which had been present, and who agreed in nothing else, concurred with them.

The whole clamor was against the Lord *Colepepper*, and Sir *Robert Long* the Prince's Secretary, who, by the Queen's injunction, was wholly subservient to the Lord *Colepepper*. They accused them of corruption, not only with reference to the Cloth-Ship, but to the release of very many other Ships, which they had discharged upon no other reason, but as it would be a very Popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the City of *London*. Though there was much discourse of Money brought to both their Cabins by Mr. *Lowe*, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having some infirmities, and a multitude of Enemies, he was never

absolved from any thing of which any Man accused him ; and the other was so notoriously inclined to that way of Husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great Riches were parted with , and had been released for little or no Money ; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it easily believed that such unthrifty Counsel could not have been given, except by those who were well rewarded for it ; which still fell upon those two.

There was a general murmur that the Fleet had lain so long idle at the mouth of the River , when it had been proposed that it might go to the Isle of *Wight*, where they might, in the consternation the whole Kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have released the King ; *Carisbrooke* being near the Sea, a Castle not strong in itself, the Island well affected, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them. And why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could have been attended with no damage considerable , was not made, was never fully Answered.

They were very angry with *Batten*, and would have it Treachery in him, that the two Fleets did not Fight with each other, when they were so near engaging in the River ; which, they said , they might well have done before the Wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the Prince ; and in this the clamor of the Seamen joined with them. But it was but clamor, for most dispassionate Men gave him a good Testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful Officer, and was very forward to Fight whilst there was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon

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him of passing by the Ships which came from *Portsmouth*, in the Night, was not so well Answered: for it was known, though he said that they were passed by, and out of reach before he was informed of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reasonably enough have been done, out of apprehension, besides the inconvenience of a Night-Engagement, that the noise of the conflict might have called the Earl of *Warwick* out of the River to their Assistance, before they could have mastered them; there being two or three of the best Ships of the Royal Navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urged by himself, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his Cowardice, of which the Seamen, as well as the Courtiers, accused him; though, as was generally thought, without reason, and only with prejudice to the Man for what he had done before, and because he was a Man of a regular and orderly course of Life, and Command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised Men to reputation in that Province. There was only one Man in the Council of whom no body spoke ill, nor laid any thing to his Charge; and that was the Lord *Hopton*. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of Prince *Rupert*, with all the other Lords of the Court, and the Attorney-General, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular Virtue, and Fidelity, and his unquestionable Courage, and Industry (all which his Enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve.

This State the Court was in, when the two lately mentioned Counsellors came; who quickly discerned, by the unsteady humors, and strong passions all Men were possessed with, that they should not preserve the Reputation they seemed to have with every Body for the present, any long time, and foresaw that necessity would presently break in upon them like an Armed Man, that would disturb and distract all their Counsels. And there was, even at the instant in which they arrived at the *Hague*, the fatal Advertisement of that Defeat of the *Scottish* Army, which must break all their measures, and render the condition of the Prince, and of the whole Kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the King his Father in the utmost despair.

The Rumor of this Defeat came to the *Hague* the next day after the Prince came thither, but not so particularly that the extent of it was known, or the Tragical effects yet thoroughly understood. And his Highness appointing his Council to meet together the next Morning after the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came thither, he informed them of the Lord *Lautherdale's* Message to him from the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that he very earnestly pressed him, ever since the News of the Defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their Army; and his Highness thought fit, that the Earl should give an Account of his Commission at the Board; whereupon he was sent for in; and, that all respect might be showed to the Parliament of *Scotland*, he had a Chair allowed him to sit upon.

He first read his Commission from the Parliament,

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The Letter of  
the Parlia-  
ment of  
Scotland to  
the Prince.

and then the Letter which the Parliament had writ to the Prince; in which, having at large magnified the great Affection of the Parliament, “that out of  
“ their native, and constant Affection and Duty to  
“ their King, and finding that, contrary to the Duty  
“ of Subjects, his Majesty was imprisoned by the  
“ Traiterous and Rebellious Army in *England*, they  
“ had raised an Army in that Kingdom, that, since  
“ their Advice, Counsel, and Entreaty in an ami-  
“ cable way, could not prevail, might by force redeem  
“ his Majesty’s Person from that captivity; which  
“ they held themselves obliged by their solemn  
“ League and Covenant to endeavour to do, with  
“ the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes: That this  
“ Army was already entered into *England*, under the  
“ Command of *James Duke Hamilton*, whom, in  
“ respect of his known and eminent fidelity to his  
“ Majesty, they had made General thereof; and  
“ having now done all that was in their power to do  
“ for the present, and having taken due care for the  
“ seasonable supply and recruit of that Army, they  
“ now sent to his Highness, that he would with all  
“ possible speed, according to the promise which  
“ the King his Father had made, transport his Royal  
“ Person, that he might himself be in the head of  
“ that Army to obtain the Liberty of his Father;”  
and they desired him, “that for the circumstances  
“ of his Journey he would be advised by the Earl of  
“ *Lautherdale*, to whom they had given full Instruc-  
“ tions; and they besought his Highness to give  
“ credit to him in all things.”

The Earl likewise showed his Instructions, by which none of the Prince's Chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but *Godly Men* should be suffered to be about the Person of his Highness; and particularly that neither Prince *Rupert*, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor some other Persons should be admitted to go with the Prince. And after all these things were read and enlarged upon, he pressed the Prince, with all imaginable instance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their Army in *England*, of which he could not but have had particular relation, that he would lose no time from entering upon his Journey; and all this with as insolent, and supercilious behaviour, as if their Army had been triumphant.

When he had said all he meant to say, he sat still, as if he expected to hear what the Prince or any Body else would say to what he proposed. It was then moved, "that, if he had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that the Council might Debate the matter, before they gave their Advice to the Prince." He took this motion very ill, and said "he was a Privy-Counsellor to the King in *Scotland*, and being likewise a Commissioner from the Parliament, he ought not to be excluded from any Debate that concerned the Affair upon which he was employed." This he urged in so imperious, and offensive a manner, that drew on much sharpness; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who knew him very well since the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, where they had often differed in matters of the highest

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XI.

Deliberation  
in the Prince's  
Council  
about it.

BOOK importance, treated him with the same liberty they  
 XI. had then been accustomed to. He told him, "he  
 " meant not to say any thing in that Debate. when  
 " he should be withdrawn, that he desired should  
 " be concealed from him, or unheard by him; and  
 " that he was ready to say, that, in His judgment,  
 " all he had proposed was very unreasonable; but  
 " he would not that the Dignity of the Board should  
 " be prostrated to his Demand. nor that he should  
 " be present there at any Debate." The Earl replied,  
 " that he was sent by the Parliament, and Kingdom  
 " of *Scotland*, to the Prince of *Wales*, and that he  
 " did protest against having any thing he proposed  
 " to be treated, and debated by, or before the *Eng-*  
 " *lish* Board; nor did he consider what was, or  
 " should be said by any Man but the Prince himself."  
 The Prince told him, "it was necessary that he him-  
 " self should hear, and know what the opinion of  
 " the Council should be; and that it was as unrea-  
 " sonable that He should be present;" and thereupon  
 Commanded him to withdraw; which he presently  
 submitted to with indecency enough. The Prince  
 then told them, "that there were some Persons come  
 " to the Town, the last night, who came out of  
 " *England* after the News of the Victory over the  
 " *Scots* came to *London*, with all the circumstances  
 " thereof; and of the Duke's being taken Prisoner;"  
 and that the Prince of *Orange* had told him, "that  
 " the States had received Intelligence of it from their  
 " Ambassador *Newport*, who resided in *London*."  
 Upon the whole matter, the Prince resolved, "to  
 " meet again the next Morning to consult farther

“ what he was to do, and that probably, in the mean  
 “ time, the Intelligence would be more perfect, and  
 “ unquestionable, and they should see whether *Lau-*  
 “ *therdale* would take any notice of it.”

But the Night made no alteration in him ; he appeared the next Morning with the same confidence, and the same importunity for the Prince to remove, and begin his Journey. He was asked, “ whether he  
 “ had received no Information of some ill Fortune,  
 “ that had befallen that Army, which might so change  
 “ the case since he left *Scotland*, that what might  
 “ Then have been fit, would be Now unfit and  
 “ uncounselable ?” The Earl said, “ he knew  
 “ well what the News was from *England*; and,  
 “ whatever he hoped, that he was not confident it  
 “ was not true; however he hoped, that would not  
 “ change the Prince’s purpose, but that it would more  
 “ concern him to pursue the resolution he was for-  
 “ merly obliged to: that if any misfortune had be-  
 “ fallen that Army, the Prince had the more reason  
 “ to endeavour to repair it; which could be done no  
 “ other way, than by his making all possible haste  
 “ into *Scotland*; which remained still a Kingdom en-  
 “ tire, wholly devoted to his Service; and that, by  
 “ the benefit of his presence, might quickly draw  
 “ together another Army, towards which there was  
 “ a good beginning already by the preservation of  
 “ that Body under *Monroe*: that if his Highness  
 “ should decline this only probable way to preserve  
 “ himself, and to recover his other two Kingdoms,  
 “ it would be thought he had little zeal for the  
 “ Liberty of his Father, and as little for his own



BOOK " Interest, and for the preservation of the Crown;  
 XI. " he therefore besought his Highness, that he would  
 " cause some of his Ships to be forthwith made ready,  
 " and would therein immediately Transport himself  
 " into *Scotland*; whereby the late wound would, in  
 " a short time, be healed; which would otherwise  
 " prove incurable."

But *Scotland* was so well known, and the power of *Argyle* (which must be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary Party) that his Proposition was by all dispassionate Men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearkened to: and the News from *London*, that *Cromwell* was marched into *Scotland* with his whole Army, confirmed every honest Man in that opinion. And within few days the Earl of *Lautherdale* seemed rather to think of going thither himself, where his own Concernments were in great danger, than of pressing the Prince to so hazardous a Voyage; and after a few Weeks more stay at the *Hague*, upon the Intelligence from his Friends in *Scotland*, how affairs went there, he returned thither in the same Ship that Transported him from thence, with as much rage and malice against the Council about the Prince, as against *Cromwell* himself.

The Earl of  
 Lautherdale  
 returns into  
 Scotland.

The Defeat of the *Scottish* Army at *Preston*, though it was not at first believed to be an entire Victory over their whole Body, there being double that number that was not there or that marched from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on Foot for raising Men, in those Northern Counties, for the King's Service, to have joined and

united under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, a Gentleman of a fair Estate, who had served the King from the beginning of the War with good Courage, was then with a Body of *English*, with which he had Besieged the Castle of *Lancaster*, and was upon the point of Reducing it, when the News of *Preston* arrived. It was then necessary to quit that design; and hearing that Major-General *Monroe*, who, shortly after the Duke, marched out of *Scotland*, followed him with a Recruit of above six thousand Horse and Foot, was come to the skirts of *Lancashire*, he retired thither to him, having gathered up many of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's* Men, who had been broken at *Preston*, and some others who had been newly Levied. Sir *Thomas Tildesley* moved *Monroe*, "that his Forces, and some Regiments of *Scots*, who yet remained about *Kendal*, might join with the *English* under his Command, and march together towards *Preston*, and follow *Cromwell* in the Rear, as He pursued the *Scots*:" which they might very well have done, being a Body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand Men; which was equal in number to the Army under *Cromwell*. But the Major-General would not consent to the Motion, but retired to the farther part of *Westmoreland*; and the *English* followed them in the Rear; presuming, that though they would not be persuaded to advance after *Cromwell*, yet that they would chuse some other more convenient Post to make a stand in, if the Enemy followed them; and then that they would be glad to join with them: to which he was pressed again the next day, but con-

Sir Thomas  
Tildesley  
retires to  
Monroe.

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XI.

tinued still fast in his Sullen Resolution, without declaring what he meant to do; and retired through *Cumberland*, where he had left a sad remembrance of his having passed that way a few days before having then raised vast Sums of Money upon the poor People, and now in his retreat plundered almost all they had left.

The *English* marched into the Bishopric of *Durham*, to join with such new Levies as were then raising there; and their Number being increased by the addition of those Troops which were under the Command of Sir *Henry Bellingham*, they met again Major-General *Monroe* in *Northumberland*, and desired him “ that they might unite together against the Common Enemy, who equally desired the destruction of “ them both. But he resolutely refused, and told “ them plainly, that he would march directly into “ *Scotland* and expect Orders there; which he did, “ with all possible Expedition.”

Monroe having entered England upon Hamilton's Defeat retreats towards Scotland.

Sir Philip  
Mufgrave to  
Carlisle.

Sir *Philip Mufgrave* believed that he and his Foot might be welcome to *Carlisle*; and went thither; and sent Sir *Henry Bellingham*, Sir *Robert Strickland*, and Colonel *Charter*, to the Earl of *Lanrick*, and offered that they should carry their Troops into *Scotland* to join with him; who he knew well would stand in need of help. But he durst not accept their Motion, saying, “ if he should, *Argyle* would from thence take “ an excuse to invite *Cromwell*,” who they heard was then upon his march towards *Berwick*, to bring his Army into *Scotland*: upon which Sir *Henry Bellingham* returned with the Party he Commanded into  
*Cumberland*,

Cumberland, paying for all they had through that part of Scotland it was necessary for them to pass through. BOOK  
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Sir *Philip Musgrave* had no better success with Sir *William Ivington*, the Governor of *Carlisle*; for though he received him very Civilly, and entered into a Treaty with him (for he knew well enough that he was not able to Victual or Defend the place without the assistance of the *English*, and therefore desired the assistance of Sir *Philip* in both) yet when Articles were agreed upon, and signed by Sir *Philip Musgrave*, the Governor fell back, and refused to engage himself "not to deliver up the Garrison without the consent of Sir *Philip Musgrave*;" who was contented that none of his Men should come within the Walls, until it should be most apparent, that they could no longer keep the Field.

Within a short time after, Orders were sent out of *Scotland* for the delivery of *Berwick* and *Carlisle* to the Parliament; in which Orders there was not the least mention of making Conditions for the *English*. Sir *Philip Musgrave* had yet *Apleby-Castle* in his own possession, having taken it after he had delivered *Carlisle* to Duke *Hamilton*, and after he was marched from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made Conditions for himself and one hundred and fifty Officers, many of them Gentlemen of Quality, who lived again to venture, and some, to lose their Lives for the King: after which, he soon Transported himself into *Holland*. Berwick and  
Carlisle deli-  
vered to the  
Parliament.

*Cromwell* resolved to lose no advantage he had got, but as soon as he had perfected his Defeat of Duke



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*Hamilton*, by gathering up as many Prisoners, as he could, of the dispersed Troops he marched directly towards *Scotland*, to pull up the Roots there, from which any farther trouble might spring hereafter; though he was very earnestly called upon from *Yorkshire* to reduce those at *Pontfret-Castle*; which grew very troublesome to all their Neighbours; and, not satisfied with drawing Contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made Excursions into places at a great distance, and took divers substantial Men Prisoners, and carried them to the Castle; where they remained till they redeemed themselves by great Ransoms. However, he would not defer his Northern March; but believing that he should be in a short time capable to take Vengeance upon those Affronts, he satisfied himself in sending Colonel *Rainborough*, with some Troops of Horse and Foot, to restrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himself, with the rest of his Army, continued their march for *Scotland*, it being about the end of *August*, or beginning of *September*, before the Harvest of that Country was yet ripe; and so capable of being destroyed.

Cromwell  
marches into  
Scotland.

It was generally believed, that the Marquis of *Argyle* earnestly invited him to this Progress; for the Defeat of the *Scottish Army* in *England* had not yet enough made him Master of *Scotland*. There was still a Committee of Parliament sitting at *Edinburgh*, in which, and in the Council, the Earl of *Lanrick* swayed without a Rival; and the Troops which had been raised under *Monroe* for the Recruit of the Duke's Army, were still together, and at the Earl's devotion; so that the Marquis was still upon his good behaviour. If he

did not invite *Cromwell*, he was very glad of his coming; and made all possible haste to bid him welcome upon his entering into the Kingdom. They made great shows of being mutually glad to see each other, being linked together by many promises, and professions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

There was no Act of Hostility committed; *Cromwell* declaring, "that he came with his Army to preserve the Godly Party, and to free the Kingdom from a force, which it was under, of Malignant Men, who had forced the Nation to break the Friendship with their Brethren of *England*, who had been so faithful to them: That it having pleased God to Defeat that Army under Duke *Hamilton*, who endeavoured to engage the two Nations in each other's Blood, he was come thither to prevent any farther mischief, and to remove those from Authority who had used their Power there so ill; and that he hoped he should, in very few days, return with an assurance of the Brotherly Affection of that Kingdom to the Parliament of *England*; which did not desire in any degree to invade their Liberties, or infringe their Privileges." He was Conducted to *Edinburgh* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, where he was received with all solemnity, and the respect due to the Deliverer of their Country, and his Army Quartered about, and supplied with all Provisions the Country could yield.

The Earl of *Lanrick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* Faction (that is all who had a mind to continue of it) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remained at *Edinburgh* were resolved to obey

**B O O K** *Argyle*; who they saw could protect them. There  
**XI.** were then enough left of the Committee of Parliament to take care of the Safety and Good of the Kingdom, without putting *Cromwell* to help them by the Power of the *English*; which would have been a great discredit to their Government. Whilst he remained their Guest (whom they entertained magnificently) *Argyle* thought himself able by the Laws of *Scotland*, to reform all that was amiss, and preserve the Government upon the true foundation. So the Committee of Parliament sent to *Monroe* an Order and Command to Disband his Troops; which when he seemed resolved not to do he quickly discerned that *Cromwell* must be Arbitrator; and thereupon he observed the Orders of the Committee very punctually: so that there was no Power in *Scotland* that could oppose the Command of *Argyle*; the Committee of Parliament, the Council, all the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so, were either in Prison, or fled. The Pulpits were full of Invectives against the Sinfulness of the late Engagement, and solemn Fasts enjoined by the Assembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveness for that heinous Transgression; the Chancellor *Lowden* giving the good example, by making his Recantation and humble Submission with many Tears. *Cromwell* had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a Kingdom as he could wish; and having thus concerted all things with his bosom-Friend *Argyle* (who resolved, as soon as he was withdrawn at a distance from *Edinburgh*, that he and his Army might not be thought to have

The Committee of the Scottish Parliament order *Monroe* to Disband.

an influence upon the Councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do) he returned for *England*; where he thought his Presence was like to be wanted.

B O O K

XI.

Cromwell  
returns for  
England.

The Committee of Parliament at *Edinburgh* (who had Authority to Convene the Parliament when the Major part of them should please; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were entered into) sent out their Summons to call the Parliament. They who appeared, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the same Passion and Zeal with which they had entered into the Engagement, they now declared it unlawful, and ungodly; and the Assembly joining with them, they Excommunicated all who had the most eminent Parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any Office in the State, or of sitting in Council, or in Parliament; subjecting those who had sinned in a less degree, to such penalties as would for ever make them subject to their Government. By these judgments, amongst others, the Earl of *Lanrick* was deprived of being Secretary of State, and that Office was conferred upon the Earl of *Lothian*; who, in the beginning of the Rebellion, had been employed by the Conspirators into *France*, and coming afterwards into *England* was Imprisoned thereupon, and being after set at liberty continued amongst those who, upon all occasions, carried the Rebellion highest, and showed the most implacable malice to the Person of the King. And by this time *Argyle* was become so much more Master of *Scotland* than *Cromwell* was of *England*, that

The Scottish  
Parliament,  
being called,  
condemn  
Duke Ha-  
milton's  
Engagement.



**B O O K** he had not so much as the shadow of a Parliament to  
**x1.** contend, or to comply with, or a necessity to exercise  
 his known great Talent of dissimulation, all Men  
 doing as he enjoined them, without asking the reason  
 of his direction.

To return to the State of the King's Affairs in *Eng-  
 land*: when the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel*  
 with the *Kentish* and *Essex*-Troops were inclosed in  
*Colchester*, their Friends could not reasonably hope  
 that the *Scottish* Army, which had so long deferred  
 their March into *England*, contrary to their promise,  
 would, though they were now come in, march fast  
 enough to relieve *Colchester* before they should be re-  
 duced by Famine. The Earl of *Holland* thought it  
 necessary, since many who were in *Colchester*, had en-  
 gaged themselves upon His promises and Authority,  
 now to begin his Enterprize; to which the youth and  
 warmth of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was Ge-  
 neral of the Horse the Lord *Francis Villiers* his Bro-  
 ther, and divers other young Noblemen, spurred him  
 on. And he might have the better opinion of his In-  
 terest and Party, in that his purpose of rising, and  
 putting himself into Arms for the relief of *Colchester*,  
 was so far from being a secret, that it was the common  
 discourse of the Town. There was a great appearance  
 every Morning, at his Lodging, of those Officers  
 who were known to have served the King; his Com-  
 missions showed in many hands; no question being  
 more commonly asked, than "when doth my Lord  
 " *Holland* go out?" and the Answer was, "such and  
 " such a day;" and the hour he did take Horse, when  
 he was accompanied by a hundred Horse from his  
 House, was publicly talked of two or three days before,

The Earl of  
 Holland Rises;  
 goes to King-  
 don.

His first Rendezvous was at *Kingston upon Thames*; where he stayed two Nights, and one whole Day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of Officers, but of Common-Men, who had promised, and listed themselves under several Officers; and he imputed the security he had enjoyed so long, notwithstanding his purpose was so generally known, to the Apprehension both the Parliament and the Army had of the Affections of the City to join with him; and he believed, that he should not only remain secure at *Kingston*, as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire Regiments of the City would march out with him for the Relief of *Colchester*.

During the short stay he made at *Kingston*, some Officers and Soldiers, both of Horse and Foot, came thither, and many Persons of Honor and Quality, in their Coaches, came to visit Him and his Company from *London*; and returned thither again to provide what was still wanting, and resolved to be with him soon enough. The principal Officer the Earl relied upon (though he had better) was *Dalbeer* a Dutchman, of name and reputation, and good experience in War; who had served the Parliament as Commissary-General of the Horse under the Earl of *Essex*, and having been left out in the new model, was amongst those discontented Officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the Army; which they despised for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus *Dalbeer* was glad to depend upon the Earl of *Holland*, who thought himself likewise happy in such an Officer. The keeping good Guards, and sending out Parties towards the *Kentish* parts, where it was

B O O K

XI.

Is routed  
there:Escapes to St.  
Neots, where  
he is taken.

known some Troops remained since the last Commo-  
tion there, was committed to His care. But he dis-  
charged it so ill, or his Orders were so ill observed,  
that the second or third Morning after their coming  
to *Kingston*, some of the Parliament's Foot, with two  
or three Troops of Colonel *Rich's* Horse, fell upon a  
Party of the Earl's about *Nonfuch*; and beat, and  
pursued them into *Kingston*, before those within had  
notice to be ready to receive them; the Earl and most  
of the rest making too much haste out of Town, and  
never offering to Charge those Troops. In this con-  
fusion the Lord *Francis Villiers*, a youth of rare Beauty  
and comeliness of Person, endeavouring to make re-  
sistance, was unfortunately killed, with one or two  
more but of little note. Most of the Foot made a  
shift to conceal themselves, and some Officers, until  
they found means to retire to their close Mansions in  
*London*. The Earl with near a hundred Horse (the  
rest wisely taking the way to *London*, where they  
were never inquired after) wandered without pur-  
pose, or design, and was, two or three days after,  
beset in an Inn at *St. Neots* in *Huntingtonshire*, by  
those few Horse who pursued him, being joined with  
some Troops of Colonel *Scroop's*; where the Earl  
delivered himself Prisoner to the Officer without re-  
sistance: yet at the same time *Dalbeer* and *Kenelm*  
*Digby*, the eldest Son of Sir *Kenelm*, were killed upon  
the place; whether out of former grudges, or that  
they offered to defend themselves, was not known;  
and the Duke of *Buckingham* escaped, and happily  
found a way into *London*; where he lay concealed,  
till he had an opportunity to secure himself by being

Transported into *Holland*; where the Prince was; who received him with great grace and kindness. The Earl of *Holland* remained Prisoner in the place where he was taken, till by Order from the Parliament he was sent to *Warwick-Castle*, where he was kept Prisoner with great strictness.

The total defeat of the *Scottish* Army lately mentioned succeeded this, and when these Noble Persons within *Colchester*, were advertised of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they subsist longer to expect it, being pressed with want of all kind of Victual, and having eaten near all their Horses. They sent therefore to *Fairfax*, to treat about the delivery of the Town upon reasonable conditions, but he refused to treat, or give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the Officers, and Gentlemen; the Common-Soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within, proposed "to make a brisk Sally; and thereby to shift for themselves, as many as could." But they had too few Horse, and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that Enterprize. Then, "that they should open a Port, and every Man die with their Arms in their hands;" but that way they could only be sure of being killed, without much hurting their Adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault them. Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themselves up, Prisoners at mercy; and were, all the Officers and Gentlemen, led into the public Hall of the Town, where they were locked up, and a strong Guard set upon them. They were required presently

B O O K

XI.

Colchester  
delivered.



B O O K to fend a list of all their Names to the General ; which  
 XI. they did ; and, within a short time after, a Guard was sent to bring Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoign* to the General, being sat with his Council of War. They were carried in, and in a very short discourse told, “ that after so long “ and so obstinate a defence until they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was “ necessary, for the example of others, and that the “ Peace of the Kingdom might be no more disturbed “ in that manner, that some Military justice should “ be executed ; and therefore, that Council had determined they three should be presently shot to “ death ; ” for which they were advised to prepare themselves ; and without considering , or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a Yard there by ; where they found three Files of Musqueteers ready for their despatch.

Sir *Bernard Gascoign* was a Gentleman of *Florence* ; and had served the King in the War, and afterwards remained in *London* till the unhappy adventure of *Colchester*, and then accompanied his Friends thither ; and had only *English* enough to make himself understood, that he desired a Pen and Ink and Paper, that he might write a Letter to his Prince the Great Duke, that his Highness might know in what manner he lost his Life, to the end his Heirs might possess his Estate. The Officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the General and Council, without which he durst not allow him Pen and Ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand : When they were informed of it, they thought it a matter worthy some

consideration; they had chosen him out of the List for his Quality, conceiving him to be an *English* Gentleman; and preferred him for being a Knight, that they might sacrifice three of that Rank. B O O K  
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This delay brought the News of this bloody resolution to the Prisoners in the Town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the Lord *Capel* prevailed with an Officer, or Soldier, of their Guard, to carry a Letter, signed by the chief Persons and Officers, and in the name of the rest, to the General; in which they took notice of that judgment, and desired him “either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with those three, undergo the same Sentence with Them.” The Letter was delivered, but had no other effect than the sending to the Officer to despatch his Order, reserving the *Italian* to the last. Sir *Charles Lucas* was their first work; who fell dead; upon which Sir *George Lisle* ran to him, embraced him, and kissed him; and then stood up, and looked those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they stood at too great a distance, spake to them to come nearer; to which one of them said, “I’ll warrant you, Sir, “We’ll hit you:” he Answered smiling, “Friends, “I have been nearer you, when you have missed “me.” Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he fell down dead of many wounds without speaking a word. Sir *Bernard Gascoign* had his doublet off, and expected the next turn; but the Officer told him “he had order to “carry him back to his Friends;” which at that time was very indifferent to him. The Council of War had

Sir Ch. Lucas  
and Sir George  
Lisle shot  
to death.

**B O O K** considered, that if they should in this manner have  
**XI.** taken the Life of a Foreigner, who seemed to be a  
 Person of Quality, their Friends or Children who  
 should visit *Italy*, might pay dear for many Genera-  
 tions; and therefore they commanded the Officer,  
 “ when the other two should be dead, to carry him  
 “ back again to the other Prisoners.”

Their Char-  
 acters.

The two who were thus murdered, were Men of  
 great name and esteem in the War; the one being  
 held as good a Commander of Horse, and the other  
 of Foot, as the Nation had; but of very different  
 tempers and humors. *Lucas* was the younger Brother  
 of the Lord *Lucas*, and his Heir both to the Honor  
 and Estate, and had a present Fortune of his own.  
 He had been bred in the Low-Countries under the  
 Prince of *Orange*, and always amongst the Horse. He  
 had little conversation in that Court, where great  
 civility was practised, and learned. He was very brave  
 in his Person, and in a day of Battle a gallant Man  
 to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and  
 places, of a Nature scarce to be lived with, of no  
 good understanding, of a rough and proud humor,  
 and very morose conversation; yet they all desired  
 to accompany him in his death. *Lisle* was a Gentle-  
 man who had had the same Education with the other,  
 and at the same time an Officer of Foot; had all the  
 Courage of the other, and led his Men to a Battle  
 with such an Alacrity, that no Man was ever better  
 followed, his Soldiers never forsaking him; and the  
 party which he commanded, never left any thing  
 undone which he led them upon. But then, to his  
 fierceness of Courage he had the softest and most

gentle nature imaginable; was kind to all, and beloved of all, and without a Capacity to have an Enemy. B O O K  
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The manner of taking the Lives of these worthy Men was new, and without Example, and concluded by most Men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to *Ireton*, who swayed the General, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody Nature. As soon as this bloody Sacrifice was ended, *Fairfax*, with the Chief-Officers, went to the Town-House to visit the Prisoners; and the General (who was an ill Orator on the most plausible occasion) applied with his civility to the Earl of *Norwich*, and the Lord *Capel*; and, seeming in some degree to excuse the having done that, which he said, "the Military justice required," he told them, "that all the Lives of the rest were safe; and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct." The Lord *Capel* had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigor to the rest;" upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between Him and *Ireton*, that cost him his Life in few Months after. When the General had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he received order to send the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* to *Windfor-Castle*; where they had afterwards the Society of Duke *Hamilton*, to lament each other's misfortunes; and after some time they two were sent to the Tower.



B O O K  
XI.

The Behaviour  
of the City at  
this time.

They Petition  
for a personal  
Treaty.

Though the City had undergone so many severe Mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entering into any more dangerous Engagements, at least all other People might have been terrified from depending again upon such Engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recovered new spirits for new undertakings; and seemed always to have observed somewhat in the last miscarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the City, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the Army, when that was at a distance appeared resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their Counsels. So that *Cromwell* had no sooner begun his March towards the North, and *Fairfax* his into *Kent*, but the Common-Council delivered a Petition to the Parliament, "that they would entertain a Personal Treaty with the King, that the Kingdom might be restored again to a happy Peace; which could be hoped for no other way." This was the first presumption that had been offered, since their Vote of no more Addresses to be made to the King; which had been near half a year before; and this seemed to be made with so universal a concurrence of the City, that the Parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it. And in truth the Major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made Sir *Harry Vane*, and that Party in the Parliament to which the Army adhered, or rather which adhered to the Army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion.

And therefore they appointed a Committee of the House of Commons, to meet with such a Committee of the Common-Council as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's safety and security during the time of the Treaty: which Committee being met together, that of the House of Commons perplexed the other with many Questions, "what they meant by those Expressions, they used in their Petition" (and had been the Common Expressions, long used both by the King and the Parliament, in all applications which had concerned a Treaty) "that his Majesty might treat with honor, freedom, and safety? what they intended by those words? and whether the City would be at the Charge in maintaining those Guards, which were to be kept for the security of the King during such Treaty; and if the King should in that Treaty refuse to give the Parliament satisfaction, how his Person should be disposed of?" and many such Questions, to which they well knew that the Committee itself could make no Answer, but that there must be another Common-Council called, to which they must repair for directions. And by this means, and administering new Questions at every meeting; much time was spent, and the delays they wished could not be avoided. So that notwithstanding all the City's earnestness that the Treaty might be presently entered upon, it was delayed till the Insurrection in *Kent*, and the designs of the Earl of *Holland* (to both which they had promised another kind of Assistance) were both disappointed, and expired. However, the Prince was still in the *Downs* with his Fleet, and the

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A Committee  
of Parliament  
treats with  
them about it.

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XI.

The Parlia-  
ment declares  
for a personal  
Treaty.

Gentlemen in *Colchester* defended themselves resolutely, and the *Scottish* Army was entered the Kingdom, all which kept up their Courage; inasmuch as, after all the delays, the Parliament consented, and declared, "that they would enter into a Personal Treaty with the King for the settling the Peace of the Kingdom; but that the Treaty should be in the Isle of *Wight*, where his Majesty should enjoy honor, freedom, and safety."

The City had offered before to the Committee upon some of the Questions which had been administered to them, "that if the Treaty might be in *London*, they would be at the Charge of maintaining those Guards which should be necessary for the safety and security of the King;" and therefore they were very much troubled, that the Treaty should be now in the Isle of *Wight*, upon which they could have no influence: yet they thought not fit to make any new Instances for change of the place, lest the Parliament might recede from their Vote, that there should be a Treaty entered upon. So they only renewed their importunity, that all expedition might be used: and in spite of all delays, in the beginning of *August* a Committee was sent from both Houses to the King to *Carisbrooke-Castle*, where he had been close shut up about half a year, without being suffered to speak with any but such who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

A Committee  
of both Houses  
sent to the  
King for that  
purpose in the  
beginning of  
*August*.

The substance  
of their Mes-  
sage to the  
King.

The Message the Committee delivered was "that the Houses did desire a Treaty with his Majesty, in what place of the Isle of *Wight* he would appoint, upon the Propositions tendered to him at *Hampton-Court*,

“ Court, and such other Propositions, as they should  
 “ cause to be presented to him ; and that his Majesty  
 “ should enjoy honor, freedom, and safety to his  
 “ Person.” The Messengers, who were one of the  
 House of Peers and two Commoners, were to return  
 within ten days, no body being very strict in the limi-  
 tation of time to a day, because the Treaty was so  
 much the longer kept off, which they hoped still  
 would by some accident be prevented.

The King received them very graciously, and told  
 them, “ they could not believe that any Man could  
 “ desire a Peace more heartily than Himself, because  
 “ no man suffered so much by the want of it: that,  
 “ though he was without any Man to consult with,  
 “ and without a Secretary to write what he should  
 “ dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for  
 “ an Answer ;” which he gave them within two or  
 three days, all written in his own hand ; in which,  
 after he had lamented his present condition, and the  
 extreme restraint he was under, he said, “ he did  
 “ very cheerfully embrace their motion, and accepted  
 “ a treaty They promised should be with Honor,  
 “ Freedom, and Safety; which he hoped they did real-  
 “ ly intend should be performed; for that, in the con-  
 “ dition he was in, he was so totally ignorant, and unin-  
 “ formed of the present State of all his Dominions,  
 “ that a blind Man was as fit to judge of Colors, as  
 “ He was to treat concerning the Peace of the King-  
 “ dom, except they would first revoke their Votes,  
 “ and Orders, by which all Men were prohibited,  
 “ and forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the  
 “ place, he could have wished, for the expedition

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The King's  
 Answer.



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“ that would have resulted from thence. that it might  
 “ have been in or near *London*, to the end that the  
 “ Parliament’s resolution and determination might  
 “ have been sooner known upon any emergent occa-  
 “ sion that might have grown in the Treaty, than it  
 “ could be at such a distance: however, since they  
 “ had resolved that it should be in the Isle of *Wight*,  
 “ he would not except against it, but named the  
 “ Town of *Newport* for the place of the Treaty.” He  
 said, “ though he desired all expedition might be used  
 “ towards the beginning and ending the Treaty, yet  
 “ he should not think himself in any freedom to treat  
 “ except, before the Treaty begun, all such Persons  
 “ might have liberty to repair to him, whose advice  
 “ and assistance he should stand in need of in the  
 “ Treaty.” He sent a List of the Names of those his  
 Servants which he desired might be admitted to come  
 to him, and attend upon him; whereof the Duke of  
*Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Sou-*  
*thampton*, and *Lindsey*, were the chief; all four Gen-  
 tlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and of his Privy-Council.  
 He named likewise all the other Servants, whose at-  
 tendance he desired in their several Offices. He sent a  
 List of the Names of several Bishops, and of such of his  
 Chaplains, as he desired to confer with, and of many  
 Common-Lawyers, and some Civilians, whose advice  
 he might have occasion to use, and desired, “ that he  
 “ might be in the same State of freedom, as he enjoyed  
 “ whilst he had been at *Hampton-Court*.”

By the time that the Commissioners returned from  
 the Isle of *Wight*, and delivered this Answer to the  
 Parliament, news was brought of the Defeat of the

*Scottish Army*, and *Cromwell* had written to his Friends, "what a perpetual Ignominy it would be to the Parliament that no body abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they should recede from their former Vote, and Declaration of no farther Addresses to the King, and conjured them to continue firm in that resolution." But they had gone too far now to recede, and since the first Motion and Petition from the Common-Council for a Treaty, very many Members, who had opposed the Vote and Declaration of no more Addresses, and from the time that had passed, had forborne ever to be present in the Parliament, upon the first mention of a Treaty, flocked again to the House, and advanced that Overture; so that they were much superior in Number to those who endeavoured first to obstruct and delay: and now hoped absolutely to frustrate all that had been proposed towards a Treaty. And the great Victory which had been obtained against the *Scots*, and which they concluded must speedily reduce *Colchester*, and put a quick period to all other attempts against the Parliament, made them more earnest and solicitous for a Treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that confusion they discerned was the purpose of the Army to bring upon the Kingdom: and so with the more Vigor they pressed that satisfaction might be given to the King, in all that he had proposed in his Answer;" and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declared, "that the Vote for no more Addresses should stand repealed: that the Treaty should be at *Newport*; and that his Majesty should be there in the same freedom in which he

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The Vote of no more Addresses repealed; and the Treaty to be at *Newport*.

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“ was at *Hampton-Court*; that the Instructions to  
 “ *Colonel Hammond*, by which the King had been in  
 “ that manner restrained, and all Persons forbid from  
 “ going to him, should be recalled; that all these Per-  
 “ sons who were named by the King, should have free  
 “ liberty to repair to him, and to remain with him  
 “ without being questioned, or troubled.” And  
 having proceeded thus far, they nominated five  
 Lords, and ten Commons to be the Commissioners  
 who should Treat with the King, and who were en-  
 joined to prepare all things to be in readiness for the  
 Treaty, with all possible expedition; but Sir *Harry*  
*Vane*, being one of these Commissioners, used all his  
 Arts to obstruct and delay it, in hope that *Cromwell*  
 would dispatch his Affairs in *Scotland* time enough to  
 return, and to use more effectual and powerful Argu-  
 ments against it, than He was furnished withal.

All these occurrences were very well known to  
*Cromwell*, and were the motives which persuaded him  
 to believe, that his presence at the Parliament was so  
 necessary to suppress the Presbyterians, who ceased  
 not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be  
 prevailed with to stay and finish that only work of  
 difficulty that remained to be done, which was the  
 reducing *Pontfret-Castle*; but left *Lambert* to make an  
 end of it, and to revenge the death of *Rainborough*,  
 who had lost his Life by that Garrison, with some cir-  
 cumstances which deserve to be remembered: as in  
 truth all that adventure in the taking and defending  
 this place should be preserved by a very particular  
 relation, for the honor of all the Persons who were  
 engaged in it.

When the first War had been brought to an end by the Reduction of all Places, and Persons, which had held for the King, and all Men's hopes had been rendered desperate, by the Impriſonment of his Majesty in the Isle of *Wight*, those Officers and Gentlemen who had served, whilst there was any Service, betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several Counties; where they lived quietly and privately, under the Insolence of those Neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their Conditions, submitted to them. When the Parliament had finished the War, they reduced and slighted most of the Island-Garrisons: the Maintenance whereof was very Chargeable: yet by the Interest of some Person who Commanded it, or out of consideration of the strength and importance of the place, they kept still a Garrison in *Pontfret* Castle, a Noble Royalty and Palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's Jointure. The Situation in itself was very strong; no part whereof was Commanded by any other ground: the House very large, with all Offices suitable to a Princely Seat, and though built very near the top of a Hill, so that it had the prospect of a great part of the West-Riding of *Yorkshire*, and of *Lincolnshire* and of *Nottinghamshire*, yet it was plentifully supplied with Water. Colonel *Cotterell*, the Governor of this Castle, exercised a very severe Jurisdiction over his Neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many Gentlemen, and Soldiers, who had served the King throughout the War, and who were known to retain their old Affections, though they lived quietly under the present Government. Upon the

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An account  
of the taking  
of Pontfret  
Castle for the  
King.



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least Jealousy or Humor, these Men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes Imprisoned by the Governor in this Garrison; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the Scots would raise an Army for the Relief and Release of the King, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, in his way for *Scotland*, had visited and conferred with some of his old Friends and Country-men, who now lived quietly within some distance of *Pontfret*, who informed him of that Garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the Assurance he had of the Resolution of the principal Persons of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, “that, when it should appear that an Army was raised in *Scotland* upon that account, which must draw down the Parliament’s Army into the other Northern Counties, and that there should be Risings in other parts of the Kingdom” (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out) “that then those Gentlemen should endeavour the surprise of that Castle, and after they had made themselves strong in it, and furnished it with Provisions to endure some restraint, they should draw as good a Body to them as those Countries would yield:” and having thus adjusted that design, they settled such a way of correspondence with Sir *Marmaduke*, that they frequently gave him an account, and received his directions for their proceeding. In this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the Governor of

the Castle lived towards them with less Jealousy, and more Humanity, than he had been accustomed to. BOOK  
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There was one Colonel *Morrice*, who, being a very young Man, had, in the beginning of the War, been an Officer in some Regiments of the King's; and out of the folly and impatience of his Youth, had quitted that Service, and engaged himself in the Parliament Army with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his Courage, and pleasantness of his Humor, made himself not only very acceptable, but was preferred to the Command of a Colonel, and performed many notable Services for them, being a stout and bold Undertaker in Attempts of the greatest Danger; wherein he had usually Success. After the new Modelling of the Army, and the introducing of a stricter discipline, his Life of great Licence kept not his Reputation with the new Officers; and being a free Speaker and Censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new Army, but with many professions of kindness, and respect to his eminent Courage, which they would find some occasion to Employ, and Reward. He was a Gentleman of a competent Estate in those parts in *Yorkshire*; and as he had grown elder, he had heartily detested himself for having quitted the King's Service, and had resolved to take some seasonable opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a Service that would redeem him; and so was not troubled to be set aside by the new General, but betook himself to his Estate; enjoyed his old Humor, which was cheerful and pleasant; and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the

BOOK Parliament; who thought that they had dismiss'd done  
 XI. of the best Officers they had, and were sorry for it.

He now, as a Country-Gentleman, frequented the Fairs and Markets, and conversed with equal freedom with all his Neighbours, of what Party soever they had been, and renewed the Friendship he had formerly held with some of those Gentlemen who had served the King. But no Friendship was so dear to him as that of the Governor of *Pontfret-Castle*, who loved him above all Men, and delighted so much in his Company, that he got him to be with him some times a week and more at a time in the Castle, when they always lay together in one Bed. He declared to one of those Gentlemen, who were united together to make that Attempt, "that he would surprize that Castle, whenever they should think the Season ripe for it;" and that Gentleman, who knew him very well, believed him so entirely, that he told his Companions, "that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surprize the place; which, by trusting too many, would be liable to discovery; but that he would take that Charge upon himself, by a way they need not inquire into;" which he assured them should not fail: and they all very willingly acquiesced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. *Morrice* was more frequently with the Governor, who never thought himself well without him, and always told him "he must have a great care of his Garrison, that he had none but faithful Men in the Castle; for that he was confident there were some Men who lived not far off,

“ and who many times came to visit him, had some  
 “ design upon the place;” and would then in confi-  
 dence name many Persons to him, some whereof were  
 these very Men with whom he communicated, and  
 others were Men of another Temper, and were most  
 devoted to the Parliament, all his particular Friends  
 and Companions; “ but that he should not be trou-  
 “ bled; for he had a false Brother amongst them,  
 “ from whom he was sure to have seasonable Adver-  
 “ tisement;” and promised him, “ that he would,  
 “ within few hours notice, bring him at any time  
 “ forty or fifty good Men into the Castle to reinforce  
 “ his Garrison, when there should be occasion;” and  
 he would show him the list of such Men, as would be  
 always ready, and would sometimes bring some of  
 those Men with him, and tell the Governor before  
 them, “ that those were in the list he had given him of  
 “ the honest fellows, who would stick to him when  
 “ there should be need;” and others would acciden-  
 tally tell the Governor, “ that they had listed them-  
 “ selves with Colonel Morrice to come to the Castle,  
 “ whenever he should call or send to them.” And all  
 these Men thus listed were fellows very notorious  
 for the bitterness and malice which they had always  
 against the King, not one of which he ever intended  
 to make use of

He made himself very familiar with all the Soldiers  
 in the Castle, and used to play and drink with them;  
 and when he lay there would often rise in the Night,  
 and visit the Guards; and by that means would some-  
 times make the Governor dismiss, and discharge a  
 Soldier whom he did not like, under pretence “ that

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“ he found him always asleep,” or some other fault which was not to be examined ; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon ; and by this means he had very much power in the Garrison. The Governor received several Letters from his Friends in the Parliament, and in the Country, “ that he should take care of Colonel “ *Morrice*, who resolved to betray him :” and informed him, “ that he had been in such and such Company “ of Men, who were generally esteemed most Malignant, and had great Intrigues with them ;” all which was well known to the Governor ; for the other was never in any of that Company, though with all the show of secrecy, in the Night, or in places remote from any House, but he always told the Governor of it, and of many particular passages in those meetings ; so that when these Letters came to him, he showed them still to the other ; and then both of them laughed at the Intelligence ; after which *Morrice* frequently called for his Horse, and went home to his House, telling his Friend “ that though he had he “ knew, no mistrust of his friendship, and knew him “ too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet “ he ought not for his own sake be thought to slight “ the information ; which would make his Friends “ the less careful of him : that they had reason to give “ him warning of those meetings, which, if he had “ not known himself, had been very worthy of his “ suspicion ; therefore he would forbear coming to “ the Castle again, till this jealousy of his Friends “ should be over ; who would know of this, and be “ satisfied with it :” and no power of the Governor

could prevail with him at such times, to stay; but he would be gone and stay away till he was, after some time, sent for again with great importunity, the Governor desiring his Counsel and Assistance as much as his Company.

It fell out, as it usually doth in Affairs of that nature, when many Men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be thoroughly ripe. The business of the Fleet and in *Kent*, and other places, and the daily Alarms from *Scotland*, as if that Army had been entering the Kingdom, made the Gentlemen who were engaged for this Enterprize, imagine that they deferred it too long, and that though they had received no Orders from Sir *Marma- duke Langdale*, which they were to expect, yet they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon They called upon the Gentleman who had undertaken, and He upon *Morrice*, for the Execution of the design. The time agreed upon was such a Night, when the Surprisers were to be ready upon such a part of the Wall, and to have Ladders to mount in two places, where two Soldiers were to be appointed for Sentinels who were privy to the attempt. *Morrice* was in the Castle, and in Bed with the Governor, and, according to his custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without, made the Sign agreed upon, and were Answered by one of the Sentinels from the Wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their Ladders. By some Accident, the other Sentinel who was designed, was not upon the other part of the Wall; but when the Ladder was mounted there, the Sentinel called out; and

**B O O K** finding that there were Men under the Wall, run to-  
**XI.** ward the Court of Guard to call for help; which gave an Alarm to the Garrison: so that, for that time, the design was disappointed. But, shortly after, *Morrice*, and some of the same Gentlemen surpris'd the Castle, under the disguise of Country-men coming in with Cart of Provision; and presently seiz'd on and master'd the main Guard, and made way for their Friends, Horse and Foot, to enter. Then two or three of them went to the Governor's Chamber, whom they found in his Bed, and told him "the Castle was surpris'd, and himself a Prisoner." He betook himself to his Arms for his defence, but quickly found that his Friend had betrayed it, and the other Gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warn'd, his defence was to no purpose, yet he received some wounds. *Morrice* afterwards comforted him with assurance "of good usage, and that he would procure his pardon from the King for his Rebellion."

They put the Garrison in good order, and so many came to them from *York-shire*, *Nottingham*, and *Lincoln*, that they could not in a short time be restrain'd, and had leisure to fetch in all sorts of Provisions for their support, and to make and renew such Fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From *Nottingham* there came *Sir John Digby*, *Sir Hugh Cartwright*, and a Son and Nephew of his, who had been good Officers in the Army, with many Soldiers who had been under their Command; many other Gentlemen of the three Counties were present, and deserve to have their Names recorded since it was an Action throughout of great Courage and Conduct.

*Cromwell's* marching towards the *Scots* with the neglect of these Men after their first appearance, and only appointing some County-Troops to inclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that driving those Troops to a greater distance, they drew contribution from all the parts about them, and made incursions much farther, and rendered themselves so terrible, that, as was said before, after the *Scottish* Defeat, those of *Yorkshire* sent very earnestly to *Cromwell*, "that he" would make it the business of his Army to reduce "*Pontfret*." But he, resolving upon his *Scottish* Expedition, thought it enough to send *Rainsborough* to perform that Service, with a Regiment of Horse, and one or two of Foot, belonging to the Army; which, with a conjunction of the Country-Forces under the same Command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. As soon as the Castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the Command of *Morrice*; who declared he would not accept the Charge, nor be Governor of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of fortune, but under the direction of Sir *John Digby*; who was Colonel-General of those parts, and was a Man rather cordial in the Service, than equal to the Command; which made him refer all things still to the Counsel, and conduct of those Officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute Persons.

The total defeat of the *Scottish* Army being now

Part of the  
Garrisons



## B O O K

## XI.

attempt upon  
Rainsborough.

generally known, and that their Friends in all other places were defeated, they in the Castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making farther excursions. They heard that *Rainsborough* was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some Troops to be Quartered near them, himself yet keeping his Head-Quarters at *Doncaster*, ten miles from the Castle. They resolved, whilst they yet enjoyed this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been informed, that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* (whom they still called their General) after the overthrow of the *Scottish Army* had been taken Prisoner, and remained in *Nottingham-Castle* under a most strict custody, as a Man the Parliament declared, "they would make" "an example of their justice." A Party of about twenty Horse, but picked and choice Men, went out of the Castle, in the beginning of the Night, with a Resolution to take *Rainsborough* Prisoner, and thereby to ransom their General. They were all good Guides, and understood the ways, private and public, very exactly; and went so far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of *August* they put themselves into the Common-Road that led from *York*; by which ways the Guards expected no Enemy; and so slightly asked them "whence they came?" who negligently Answered; and asked again, "where their General was?" saying, "they had a Letter for him from *Cromwell*." They sent one to show them where the General was; which they knew well enough, and that he lay at the best Inn of the Town. And when the Gate of the Inn was

opened to them, three of them only entered into the Inn, the other rode to the other end of the Town to the Bridge, over which they were to pass towards *Pontfret*; where they expected, and did find a Guard of Horse and Foot, with whom they entertained themselves in discourse, saying "that they stayed for their Officer, who went only in to speak with the General; and called for some drink." The Guards making no question of their being Friends, sent for drink, and talked negligently with them of News; and, it being broad day, some of the Horse alighted, and the Foot went to the Court of Guard, conceiving that Morning's work to be over. They who went into the Inn, where no body was awake but the Fellow who opened the Gate, asked in which Chamber the General (for so all the Soldiers called *Rainsborough*) lay; and the Fellow showing them from below the Chamber-door, two of them went up, and the other stayed below, and held the Horses, and talked with the Soldier who had walked with them from the Guard. The two who went up, opened the Chamber-door, found *Rainsborough* in his Bed, but awaked with the little noise they had made. They told him in short "that he was their Prisoner, and that it was in his power to chuse whether he would be presently killed" (for which work he saw they were very well prepared) "or quietly, without making resistance, or delay, to put on his Clothes and be mounted upon a Horse, that was ready below for him, and accompany them to *Pontfret*." The present danger awakened him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon

**B O O K** them, and made the haste that was necessary to put on  
**XL.** his Clothes. One of them took his Sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the Horses, had sent the Soldier away to those who were gone before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any thing else, that could be made ready in the House, against they came. When *Rainsborough* came into the Street, which he expected to find full of Horse, and saw only one Man, who held the others Horses, and presently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to struggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their Swords; and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their Horses, and rode towards their Fellows, before any in the Inn could be ready to follow them. When those at the Bridge saw their Companions coming, which was their sign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turned upon the Guard, and made them fly in distraction; so that the way was clear and free; and though they missed carrying home the prize for which they had made so lusty an adventure, they joined together, and marched, with the Expedition that was necessary, a shorter way than they had come, to their Garrison; leaving the Town, and Soldiers behind in such a consternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their General, whom they found dead upon the ground without any Body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and could not recollect themselves which way they were to pursue an Enemy they had not seen. The Gallant  
Party

Party came safe home without the least damage to Horse or Man, hoping to make some other attempt more successfully, by which they might redeem Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. There was not an Officer in the Army whom *Cromwell* would not as willingly have lost as this Man; who was bold and barbarous to his wish, and fit to be intrusted in the most desperate Interest, and was the Man whom that Party always intended to commit the Maritime Affairs to, when it should be time to dismiss the Earl of *Warwick*; he having been bred in that Element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune spoken of in the beginning of the Summer.

And now to finish this business of *Pontfret* altogether, which lasted near to the end of this year, when *Lambert* came to this Charge (instructed by *Cromwell* to take full Vengeance for the loss of *Rainſborough*, to whose Ghost he designed an ample Sacrifice) and kept what Body of Men he thought fit for that purpose he reduced them in a short time within their own Circuit, making good Works round about the Castle, that they might at last yield to Hunger, if nothing else would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly suffer themselves to be cooped up without bold and frequent Sallies, in which many of the Besiegers, as well as the others, lost their Lives. They discovered many of the Country who held correspondence with, and gave Intelligence to the Castle. whom they apprehended, whereof there were two Divines, and some Women of Note, Friends and Allies to the besieged. After frequent Mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of Relief, they were content to offer to Treat



B O O K for the Delivery of the Castle, if they might have  
 XI. honorable Conditions ; if not, they sent word “ that  
 “ they had Provisions yet for a good time ; that they  
 “ durst die, and would sell their Lives at as dear a  
 “ price as they could. *Lambert* Answered, that he  
 “ knew they were gallant Men, and that he desired  
 “ to preserve as many of them, as was in his power  
 “ to do, but he must require six of them to be given  
 “ up to him, whose Lives he could not save ; which  
 “ he was sorry for, since they were brave men ; but  
 “ his hands were bound. ” The six excepted by him  
 were Colonel *Morrice*, and five more whose Names  
 he found to have been amongst those who were in the  
 Party that had destroyed *Rainsborough* ; which was  
 an Enterprize no brave Enemy would have revenged  
 in that manner : nor did *Lambert* desire it, but *Crom-*  
*well* had enjoined it him : all the rest he “ was con-  
 “ tent to release, that they might return to their  
 “ Houses, and apply themselves to the Parliament  
 “ for their Compositions, towards which he would  
 “ do them all the good Offices he could. They from  
 “ within acknowledged his Civility in that parti-  
 “ cular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they  
 “ would never be guilty of so base a thing, as to de-  
 “ liver up any of their Companions ; ” and therefore  
 they desired “ they might have six days allowed  
 “ them, that those six might do the best they could  
 “ to deliver themselves, in which it should be lawful  
 “ for the rest to assist them ; ” to which *Lambert* ge-  
 nerously consented, “ so that the rest would Surren-  
 “ der at the end of that time ; ” which was agreed to.  
 Upon the first day the Garrison appeared twice or

thrice, as if they were resolved to make a Sally, but retired every time without Charging; but the second day they made a very strong and brisk Sally upon another place than where they had appeared the day before, and beat the Enemy from their Post, with the loss of Men on both sides; and though the Party of the Castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof *Morrice* was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the Night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escaped: and the next day they made great shows of joy, and sent *Lambert* word, “that their six Friends were gone (though there were two still remaining) and therefore they would be ready the next day to Surrender.”

The other two thought it to no purpose to make another attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous Assistance from their Friends, who had lost some of their own Lives in the two former Sallies to save theirs. The buildings of the Castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of waste Stones from some Walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they walled up their two Friends in such a manner that they had Air to sustain them, and Victual enough to feed them a Month, in which they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they opened their Ports, and after *Lambert* had caused a strict inquisition to be made for those six,

B O O K  
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Pontfret  
delivered up  
to Lambert.

**B O O K** none of which he did believe had in truth escaped,  
**XI.** and was satisfied that none of them were amongst those who were come out, he received the rest very Civilly, and observed his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six Gallant-Men (as he called them) were escaped.

And now they heard, which very much relieved their broken Spirits, that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had made an escape out of the Castle of *Nottingham*; who shortly after Transported himself beyond the Seas. *Lambert* presently took care so to dismantle the Castle, that there should be no more use of it for a Garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing; and then drew off all his Troops to new Quarters; so that, within ten days after the Surrender, the two who were left walled up, threw down their inclosure, and securely provided for themselves. Sir *John Digby* lived many years after the King's Return, and was often with his Majesty. Poor *Morrice* was afterwards taken in *Lancashire*, and happened to be put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the King, and where he first performed a great Service to the Parliament.

The Condition  
 of the Prince  
 and the Duke  
 of York at the  
 Hague, and  
 the Faction  
 among their  
 Followers.

In this desperate Condition, that is before described, stood the King's Affairs when the Prince was at the *Hague*, his Fleet already mutinying for Pay, his own Family factious and in necessity, and that of his Brother the Duke of *York* full of Intrigues, and Designs, between the restless unquiet Spirit of *Banfield*, and the Ambitious and as unquiet Humor of Sir *John Berkeley*. The Council, which was not numerous (for the Prince had not Authority to add any to those

who were his Father's Counsellors) wanted not Unity in itself, so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the Fleet, and the prejudice to those still remained, and so abated much of the reverence which most Men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And the great Animosity which Prince *Rupert* had against the Lord *Colepepper* infinitely disturbed the Counsels, and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But *Colepepper* had some Passions and Infirmities, which no Friends could restrain; and though Prince *Rupert* was very well inclined to the Chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to *Colepepper* was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by *Herbert* the Attorney-General, who had the absolute Ascendant over that Prince, and who did perfectly hate all the World that would not be governed by him, that every meeting in Council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

One day the Council met (as it used to do when they did not attend the Prince of *Wales* at his Lodgings) at the Lord-Treasurer's Lodging (He and the Chancellor of the Exchequer being in one House) about giving direction for the sale of some Goods which had been taken at Sea, for the raising of Money toward the payment of the Fleet. In such services Merchants, and other proper Persons, were always necessary to be trusted. Prince *Rupert* proposed "that  
" one Sir *Robert Walsh* (a Person too well known to  
" be trusted) might be employed in that Affair:" it



was to sell a Ship of Sugar. No Man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employed; but the Lord *Colepepper* spoke against him with some warmth, so that it might be thought to reflect a little upon Prince *Rupert*, who had proposed him. Upon which, He asking "what exceptions there were to Sir *Robert Wals*, why he might not be fit for it," *Colepepper* Answered with some quickness, "that he was a known cheat;" which, though notoriously true, the Prince seemed to take very ill; and said, "he was his Friend, and a Gentleman; and if he should come to hear of what had been said, he knew not how the Lord *Colepepper* could avoid fighting with him." *Colepepper*, whose Courage no Man doubted, presently replied, "that he would not Fight with *Wals*, but he would Fight with his Highness;" to which the Prince Answered very quietly, "that it was well;" and the Council rose in great perplexity.

Prince *Rupert* went out of the House, and the Chancellor led the Lord *Colepepper* into the Garden, hoping that he should so far have prevailed with him, as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have persuaded him presently to repair to the Prince, and to ask his Pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but seemed to think only of making good what he had so imprudently said. Prince *Rupert* quickly informed his Confidential the Attorney-General of all that had passed; who was the unfittest Man living to be trusted with such a secret, having always about him store of Oil

to throw upon such Fire. He soon found means to B O O K  
make it known to the Prince, who presently sent for  
the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be informed of the  
whole matter; and when he understood it, was ex-  
ceedingly troubled, and required him "to let *Colepepper*  
" know, that he ought to make a submission to Prince  
" *Rupert*; without which worse would fall out.

He went first to Prince *Rupert*, that he might pacify  
him till he could convince the other of his fault; and  
he so far prevailed with his Highness, who would  
have been more Choleric if he had had less Right of  
his side, that he was willing to receive a submission;  
and promised "that the other should receive no  
" affront in the mean time." But he found more diffi-  
culty on the other side, the Lord *Colepepper*, conti-  
nuing still in rage, thought the provocation was so  
great, that he ought to be excused for the Reply, and  
that the Prince ought to acknowledge the one as well  
as He the other. But after some days recollection,  
finding no Body with whom he conversed of his  
mind, and understanding, how much the Prince was  
displeased, and that he expected he should ask Prince  
*Rupert* Pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place  
he was in, where he could expect no security from  
his Quality and Function, he resolved to do what he  
ought to have done at first; and so he went with the  
Chancellor to Prince *Rupert's* Lodging; where he  
behaved himself very well; and the Prince received  
him with all the Grace could be expected; so that so  
ill a business seemed to be as well concluded as the  
nature of it would admit. But the worst was to come,  
the Attorney - General had done all he could to dis-

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dissuade that Prince from accepting so small, and so private a satisfaction; but, not prevailing, he inflamed Sir Robert *Walsh*, who had been informed of all that had passed at the Council concerning himself, to take his own revenge; in which many Men thought, that he was assured Prince *Rupert* would not be offended. And the next Morning after his Highness had received satisfaction, as the Lord *Colepepper* was walking to the Council without a Sword, *Walsh*, coming to him, seemed quietly to expostulate with him, for having mentioned him so unkindly. To the which the other Answered, “that he would give him satisfaction in any way he would require; though he ought not to be called in question for any thing he had said in that place.” On a sudden, whilst they were in this calm discourse, *Walsh* struck him with all his force one blow in the Face with his Fist; and then stepped back, and drew his Sword; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and the Lord *Colepepper*, with his Nose and Face all bloody, went back to his Chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the Clock in the Morning in the sight of the Town; which troubled the Prince exceedingly; who immediately sent to the States to demand Justice; and they, according to their method and slow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, caused *Walsh* to be Summoned, and after so many days for want of Appearance, he was by the sound of a Bell publicly banished from the *Hague*; and so he made his residence in *Amsterdam*, or what other place he pleased.

And this was the reparation the States gave the Prince for so Ruffianly a transgression; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy business exposed the Prince himself as well as his Council, to more disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

The improvidence that had been used in the Fleet, besides its inactivity, by the dismissing so many great Prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither Money to pay the Seamen, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new-Victual the Ships, which was as important; since it was easy to be foreseen, that they could not remain long in the Station where they were for the present, and the extreme licence which all Men took to censure and reproach that improvidence, disturbed all Counsels, and made Conversation itself very uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that Licence; every Man believing that his particular necessities, with which all Men abounded, might easily have been relieved and provided for, if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which they therefore called Treachery and Corruption. It cannot be denied but there was so great a Treasure taken, which turned to no account, and so much more might have been taken, if the several Ships had been applied to that end. that a full provision might have been made, both for the support of the Fleet, and supply of the Prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the same had been well managed, and could have been deposited in some secure place, till all might have been sold at good Markets. And no body was satisfied with the Reasons which

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The ill condition of the Prince's Fleet on Holland.



B O O K  
XI.

were given for the discharging, and dismissing so many Ships to gratify the City of *London*, and the Presbyterian Party throughout the Kingdom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away and lost, was generally believed to be worth more than all they would have done if they had been able, those Bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that People; whose Affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but their sharp sufferings, and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their Trade, and the seizing upon their Estates, being, at that time, thought by many the most proper Application to the City of *London*, and the best Arguments to make them in love with Peace, and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give it. And if the Fleet had applied itself to that, and visited all those Maritime Parts which were in Counties well affected, and where some places had declared for the King (as *Scarborough* in *Yorkshire* did) if it had not been possible to have set the King at liberty in the *Isle Wight*, or to have relieved *Colchester*, (both which many Men believed, how unskillfully soever, to be practicable) it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honorably than it did.

But let the ill consequence be never so great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would probably have been discovered by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the Queen was so fully possessed of the purpose, and the power of the *Scots* to do the King's business,

before the Insurrections in the several parts in *England*, and the revolt of the Fleet appeared, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon *Scotland*, as the sole foundation of the King's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the Fleet's returning to their Allegiance, only as an opportunity offered by Providence to Transport the Prince with security thither. And her Instructions to those she trusted about the Prince, were so positive, "that they should not give consent" to any thing that might divert or delay that Expedition," that, if the Earl of *Lautherdale* had been arrived when the Prince came to the Fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have Transported the Prince into *Scotland*, what other conveniencies soever, preferable to that, had offered themselves. And the very next day after that Lord's coming to the Prince in the *Downs*, his injunctions and behaviour were so imperious for the Prince's present departure, that nothing but a direct Mutiny among the Seamen prevented it. His Highness' own Ship was under Sail for *Holland*, that he might from thence have prosecuted his other Voyage: nor would he at that time have taken *Holland* in his way, if there had been any quantity of Provision in the Fleet for such a Peregrination. This Expedition for *Scotland* was the more grievous to all Men, because it was evident that the Prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offered, and only resigned himself implicitly to the pleasure of his Mother.

## BOOK

## XI.

The Earl of  
Warwick  
with his Fleet  
comes upon  
the Coast of  
Holland.

The present ill condition of the Fleet, and the unsteady humor of the Common-Seamen was the more notorious, and unseasonable, by the Earl of *Warwick's* coming with another Fleet from the Parliament upon the Coast of *Holland*, within few days after the Prince came to the *Hague*, and Anchoring within view of the King's Fleet. And it is probable he would have made some hostile attempt upon it, well knowing that many Officers and Seamen were on Shore, if the States had not, in the very Instant, sent some of their Ships of War to preserve the Peace in Their Port. However, according to the insolence of his Masters, and of most of those employed by them, the Earl sent a Summons of a strange Nature to the King's Ships, in which he took notice, " that a Fleet of Ships, " which were part of the Navy Royal of the Kingdom " of *England* was then riding at Anchor off *Helvoet-* " *Stuice*, and bearing a Standard: That he did there- " fore by the Parliament's Authority, by which he " was constituted Lord High-Admiral of *England*, re- " quire the Admiral or Commander in chief of that " Fleet to take down the Standard; and the Captains, " and Mariners belonging to the Ships, to render " themselves and the Ships to him, as High-Admiral " of *England*, and for the use of the King and Par- " liament: And he did, by the like Authority, " offer an indemnity to all those who should submit " to him."

After which Summons, though received by the Lord *Willoughby*, who remained on Board the Fleet in the Command of Vice-Admiral. with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no

impression upon the Officers, nor visibly, at that time, upon the Common-Men, yet, during the time the Earl continued in so near a Neighbourhood, he did find means by private Insinuations, and by sending many of his Seamen on Shore at *Helvoet-Sluice* (where they entered into conversation with their old Companions) so to work upon and corrupt many of the Seamen, that it afterwards appeared many were debauched; some whereof went on Board his Ships, others stayed to do more mischief. But that ill Neighbourhood continued not long; for the Season of the Year, and the Winds which usually rage on that Coast in the Month of *September*, removed him from that Station, and carried him back to the *Downs* to attend new Orders.

All these disturbances were attended with a worse, which fell out at the same time, and that was the sickness of the Prince; who, after some days indisposition, appeared to have the small Pox; which almost distracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious Life: And therefore the consternation was very universal whilst that was thought in danger. But, by the goodness and mercy of God, he recovered in few days the peril of that distemper; and, within a Month, was restored to so perfect Health, that he was able to take an account himself of his Melancholic and perplexed Affairs.

The Prince of  
Wales has  
the small Pox.

There were two points which were chiefly to be considered, and provided for by the Prince; neither of which would bear delay for the consultation, and resolution; the first; how to make provision to pay,



B O O K and victual the Fleet, and to compose the mutinous  
XI. Spirits of the Seamen; who paid no reverence to their Officers, insomuch as, in the short stay which the Earl of *Warwick* had made before *Helvoet-Sluice*, as hath been said, many of the Seamen had gone over to him, and the *Constant Warwick*, a Frigate of the best Account, had either voluntarily left the Prince's Fleet, or suffered itself willingly to be taken, and carried away with the rest into *England*. The other was, what he should do with the Fleet, when it was both payed and victualled.

Towards the first, there were some Ships brought in with the Fleet, laden with several Merchandize of value, that, if they could be sold to the true worth, would amount to a Sum sufficient to pay the Seamen their Wages, and to put in Provisions enough to serve four Months; and there were many Merchants from *London*, who were desirous to buy their own Goods, which had been taken from them; and others had Commissions from thence to buy the rest. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other Market, but must be sold in the place where they were; and therefore they were resolved to have very good Pennyworths. And there were many Debts claimed, which the Prince had promised, whilst he was in the River, should be paid out of the first Money that should be raised upon the Sale of such and such Ships: particularly, the Prince believed that the Countess of *Carlisle*, who had committed faults enough to the King and Queen, and pawned her Necklace of Pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she had totally disbursed in supplying

Officers, and making other Provisions for the expedition of the Earl of *Holland* ( which Sum of fifteen hundred pounds the Prince had promised the Lord *Piercy* her Brother, who was a very importunate Solicitor) should be paid upon the Sale of a Ship that was laden with Sugar, and was then conceived to be worth above six or seven thousand pounds. Others had the like Engagements upon other Ships: so that when Money was to be raised upon the Sale of Merchandize, they who had such Engagements, would be themselves intrusted, or nominate those who should be, to make the bargain with Purchasers, to the end that they might be sure to receive what they claimed, out of the first Monies that should be raised. By this means, double the value was delivered, to satisfy a debt that was not above the half.

But that which was worse than all this, the Prince of *Orange* advertised the Prince, that some Questions had been started in the States, “ what they should do, “ if the Parliament of *England*” ( which had now a very dreadful name ) “ should send over to them to “ demand the restitution of those Merchants Goods, “ which had been unjustly taken in the *Downs*, and “ in the River of *Thames*, and had been brought into “ their Ports, and were offered to Sale there, against “ the obligation of that Amity which had been observed between the two Nations, during the late “ War? what Answer they should be able to make, “ or how they could refuse to permit the owners of “ those Goods to make their Arrests, and to sue in “ their Admiralty for the same? which first process “ would stop the present Sale of whatever others

B O O K of *York*, he had infused into him a marvellous desire  
 XI. to be possessed of the Government of the Fleet: but the Duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for his Highness, nor for his Father's Service, that he should be embarked in it: and *Bamfield*, by an especial Command from the King, who had discovered more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not suffered to come any more near the Person of the Duke. So he returned into *England*; where he was never called in question for stealing the Duke away. From this time the Duke, who was not yet above fifteen years of age, was so far from desiring to be with the Fleet, that, when there was once a Proposition, upon occasion of a sudden mutiny amongst the Seamen, "that he should go to *Heivoet-Sluice*," to appear amongst them, who professed great duty to his Highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some Servant about him who took pains to persuade him, "that the Council had inclined the Prince to that designation, out of ill will to his Highness, and that the Ships might deliver him up to the Parliament." So unpleasant, and uncomfortable a Province had those Persons, who, being of the King's Council, served both with great fidelity; every body who was unsatisfied (and no body was satisfied) aspersing them, or some of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in such a manner as touched the honor of the rest, and most reflected upon the King's own Honor, and Service.

Prince *Rupert* had a long desire to have that Command of the Fleet put into his hands; and that desire,

though carried with all secrecy, had been the cause of so many Intrigues, either to inflame the Seamen, or to cherish their froward inclinations, and increase the prejudice they had to *Batten*. The Attorney mentioned this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, shortly after his coming to the *Hague*, as a thing, he thought, that Prince might be induced to accept out of his Zeal to the King's Service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what Person the Government of the Fleet could be committed, when it should set Sail from that Port, and whither it should go. The Chancellor made no other Answer to him, than "that it was like to be a charge of much danger and hazard; that he must not believe that any body would propose the undertaking it to Prince *Rupert*, or that the Prince would command him to undertake it; and that he thought it necessary, that it should be first resolved, what the Fleet should do, and whither it should go, before a Commander should be appointed over it."

When the Marquis of *Ormond* had waited so many Months at *Paris* for the Performance of those gaudy promises which the Cardinal had made, after he saw in what manner the Prince of *Wales* himself was treated by him, and that he would not suffer the least assistance to be applied to the Affairs of *England*, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the Fleet, upon so powerful Insurrections in *England*, and possessing so many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* seemed so united for his Majesty's Service, and an Army of

The Affairs of the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Lord *Inchiquin* in *Ireland*.



BOOK XI. thirty thousand Men were said to be even ready to march; Ifay, after he discerned that the Cardinal was so far from giving any countenance, or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the destroying them, but the imprisoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for *Ireland*. And therefore he resolved, though he had neither Men, nor Money, nor Arms, nor Ammunition, all which had been very liberally promised to transport with him, he would yet transport his own Person, to what evident danger soever he was to expose it. Upon the full assurance the Cardinal had given him of very substantial aid, he had assured the Lord *Inchiquin*, "that he would be  
 " present with him with notable supply of Money,  
 " Arms, and Ammunition, and good Officers, and  
 " some common Men" (which were all in readiness, if the Money had been paid to entertain them) and had likewise sent to many, who had formerly served the King, and lived now quietly in the Enemies Quarters, upon the Articles which had been formerly granted the Marquis of *Ormond*, "that they should  
 " expect his speedy arrival."

And though he had, from time to time, sent Advertisements of the delays and obstructions he met with in the *French-Court*, so that he did almost despair of any Assistance from it, yet the Lord *Inchiquin* had advanced too far to retire; and the Lord *Liste*, who had been sufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into *England* with full malice, and such information (which was not hard for him to be furnished with) as would put *Cromwell* and the Army

into such fury, that his Friends in the Parliament, who had hitherto sustained his credit, would be very hardly able to support him longer. So that, as he was to expect a storm from thence, so he had a very sharp War to maintain against the *Irish*, led and commanded by the Pope's Nuntio; which War had been always carried on in *Munster* with wonderful animosity, and with some circumstances of bloodiness, especially against Priests, and others of the Roman Clergy, that it was very hard to hope that those People would live well together. And indeed the *Irish* were near rooted out of the Province of *Munster*, though they were powerful enough, and strong in all the other Provinces. Hereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, with all possible earnestness, writ to the Lord *Ormond*, "that, though without any other assistance, he would transport his own Person:" by whose countenance and authority he presumed the *Irish* might be divided, and brought to reason; and desired him, "in the mean time, to send to such of the *Irish* as had dependance upon him, and who, he knew, in their hearts did not wish well to the Nuntio, that they would secretly correspond with Him, and dispose their Friends and Dependents to concur in what might advance the King's Service; to which they did not know that he was inclined, but looked upon him, as the same malicious and irreconcilable Enemy to them, as he had always appeared to be to their Religion, more than to their Persons."

From the time that the *Irish* entered into that bloody, and foolish Rebellion, they had very different Affections, Intentions, and Designs, which were

An Account of  
the Affairs of  
the Irish about  
this time.

every day improved in the carrying on the War. That part of them which inhabited the *Pale*, so called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of *English* Extraction, since the first Plantation by the *English* many Ages past. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous Customs of the *Irish*, and were as stupidly transported with the highest superstition of the *Romish* Religion, yet they had always steadily adhered to the Crown, and performed the duty of good Subjects during all those Rebellions which the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was seldom without. And of that temper most of the Province of *Leinster* was: *Munster* was the most planted with *English* of all the Provinces of *Ireland*, and though there were many Noble Men of that Province who were of the oldest *Irish* extractions, and of those Families which had been Kings of *Munster*, yet many of them had intermarried with the best *English* Families, and so were better bred, and more civilized than the rest of the old *Irish*, and lived regularly in obedience to the Government, and by connivance enjoyed the exercise of their Religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

The Seat of the old *Irish*, who retained the Rites, Customs, Manners, and Ignorance of their Ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the Province of *Ulster*; not the better cultivated by the Neighbourhood of the *Scots*, who were planted upon them in great Numbers, with circumstances of great Rigor. Here the Rebellion was first contrived, cherished, and entered upon with that horrid Barbarity, by

the O Neils, the *Macguyres* and the *Macmahoons*; and though it quickly spread itself, and was entertained in the other Provinces (many Persons of Honor and Quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the Lord Justices, who denounced the War against all *Irish* equally if not against all Roman-Catholics; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declined in all the Orders and directions sent to them out of *England*, but so unskilfully pursued by the Justices, and Council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had cheerfully offered their Service, they concluded, that the *English Irish* were as much in the Jealousy of the State as the other, and resolved to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable Courses as the rest had done) yet I say, they were no sooner entered into the War, which was so generally embraced, but there appeared a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate Party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their Religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the King, or of invading his Prerogative, put themselves under the Command of General *Preston*: the other, of the fiercer and more savage Party, and who never meant to return to their Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and looked upon all the Estates which had ever been in the possession of any of their Ancestors, though forfeited by their Treason and Rebellion, as justly due to them, and



B O O K

XI.

The Characters  
of Preston and  
O Neile their  
chief Generals.

ravished from them by the Tyranny of the Crown, marched under the conduct of *Owen Roe O Neile*; both Generals of the *Irish* Nation; the one descended of *English* extraction through many descents; the other purely *Irish*, and of the Family of *Tyrone*; both bred in the Wars of *Flanders*, and both eminent Commanders there, and of perpetual jealousy of each other: the one of the more frank and open Nature; the other darker, less polite and the wiser Man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous Armies apart, than all the King's power could bring into the Field against either of them.

This disparity in the Temper and Humor of those People, first disposed those of the most moderate to desire a Peace shortly after the Rebellion was begun, and produced the Cessation that was first entered into, and the Peace, which did not soon enough ensue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exercise of the Roman-Catholic Religion; but did that in so immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the Protestants of the King's Dominions.

*Owen Roe O Neile* refused to submit to the Conditions and Articles of that Peace, though transacted and confirmed by their Catholic Council at *Kilkenny*, which was the Representative the *Irish* Nation had chosen for the conduct of all the Counsels for Peace and War, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid an entire Obedience. The Pope's Nuntio, who about that time came from *Rome*, and Transported himself into that Kingdom, applied himself to *Owen O Neile*, and took that Party into his Protection; and so wrought upon their Clergy, generally, that he

broke that Peace, and prosecuted those who had made it. with those circumstances which have been before remembered, and which necessitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the Kingdom, and to leave the City of *Dublin* in the hands of the Parliament; the Lord *Inchiquin* having likewise refused to consent, and submit to that Peace and continued to make the War sharply and successfully against the *Irish* in the Province of *Munster*; whereof he was President. But the Nuntio was no sooner invested in the Supreme Command of that Nation both by Sea and Land, as over a People, subject to the Pope, and of a Dominion belonging to Him, than, being a Man of a fantastical Humor, and of an imperious and proud Nature, he behaved himself so insolently towards all, and having brought no Assistance to them but the Pope's Bulls, endeavoured by new exactions to enrich himself) that even the Men of *Ulster* were weary of him; and they, who had been the Instruments of the former Peace, were not wanting to foment those jealousies, and discontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at *St. Germain's*, and the Resolution of sending the Marquis of *Ormond* thither again, both which have been related before. And the Marquis now having given the Lord *Muskerrey* (who had Married his Sister, and was the most powerful Person, and of the greatest Interest in *Munster* of all the *Irish*) and other of his Friends notice that the Lord *Inchiquin* would serve the King, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his Service, they found means to hold such

B O O K  
XI.

The Pope's  
Nuntio Com-  
mands the  
Irish.

BOOK intercourse with him, that before the Marquis of  
 XI. *Ormond* arrived there, against all the opposition the  
 Nuntio could make, a Cessation of Arms was con-  
 cluded between the Confederate Catholics and the  
 Lord *Inchiquin*; and the Nuntio, was driven into  
*Waterford*; and upon the matter, Besieged there by  
 the Catholic *Irish*; and the Marquis arriving at the  
 same time at *Kinsale*, and being received by the Lord  
*Inchiquin* with all imaginable duty as the King's Lieu-  
 tenant, the forlorn and contemned Nuntio found it  
 necessary to Transport himself into *Italy*, leaving  
 the Kingdom of *Ireland* under an Excommunication,  
 and Interdict, as an Apostate Nation; and all the  
 Province of *Munster* (in which there are many excel-  
 lent Ports) came immediately and entirely under  
 the King's Obedience. All which being well known  
 to the Prince, and the Council, it was easily con-  
 cluded, "that it was the best, if not the only place,  
 " the Fleet could repair too;" though the danger in  
 Conducting it thither was visible enough; and there-  
 fore they were glad that Prince *Rupert* had made that  
 advance towards the Command of it, and well satisfied  
 with the wariness of the Answer the Chancellor of  
 the Exchequer gave to the Attorney *Herbert*.

There was in truth no Body in view to whom the  
 Charge of the Fleet could be committed but Prince  
*Rupert*: for it was well known that the Lord *Willough-*  
*by*, besides his being without much Experience of  
 the Sea, was weary of it, and would by no means  
 continue there; and the Seamen were too much  
 broke loose from all kind of Order, to be reduced by  
 a Commander of an Ordinary Rank. It was as true,

The Marquis  
 of Ormond  
 arrives at Kin-  
 sale, and the  
 Pope's Nuntio  
 leaves Ireland.

that Prince *Rupert*, at that time, was generally very ungracious in *England*, having the misfortune not to be much beloved by the King's Party, and hated by the Parliament. This was an exception that was foreseen: there was no other choice of a place to which the Fleet must be carried, but *Munster*; and the passage thither could not but be full of danger, in respect that the Parliament was without question Master of the Sea (although the Island of *Scilly* being then under the King's Authority, and Sir *John Greenvil* being the Governor thereof, made that passage something the more secure) therefore this purpose was to be concealed as the last secret; there being great danger that the Seamen would rather carry all the Ships back again to the Parliament, than into *Ireland*; against which People they had made a War at Sea with circumstances very barbarous; for they had seldom given any Quarter, but the *Irish*, as well Merchants and Passengers, as Mariners, which fell into their Hands, as hath been said before, were bound back to back and thrown into the Sea; so that they could have no inclination to go into a Country whose People had been handled so cruelly by them.

Here again appeared another objection against the Person of Prince *Rupert*, who would never endure to be subject to the Command of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom: and yet it seemed most reasonable that the Ships, whilst they stayed there, might be employed towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in Rebellion: Besides that there was cause to fear, that the Prince would not live with that Amity towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, as was neces-



**B O O K** fary for the Public Service. Notwithstanding all this, when the little Stratagem of having Prince *Rupert* desired to take the Command of the Fleet upon him did not succeed, Prince *Rupert* himself made the Proposition to the Prince to take the Command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his Royal Highness would be pleased to direct. And then the whole matter being debated, necessity made that to be Counsellable, against which very many reasonable objections might be made. So it was resolved that Prince *Rupert* should be Admiral of that Fleet, and that it should Sail for *Ireland*. And the Charge, and Expedition appeared to be the more hopeful by the presence of good Officers, who had long Commanded in the Royal Navy: Sir *Thomas Kettleby*, whom the Prince made Captain of his own Ship the *Antelope*; Sir *John Mennes*, who had the Command of the *Swallow*, a Ship of which he had been Captain many years before; and Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was made Captain of the *Constant Reformation*; all worthy and faithful Men to the King's Service, of long Experience in the Service at Sea, and well known and loved by the Seamen. With these Officers, and some other Gentlemen, who were willing to spend their time in that Service, Prince *Rupert* went to *Helvoet-Sluice*, where the Ships lay, and seemed to be received by the Fleet with great joy. They all bestirred themselves in their several places to get the Ships ready for Sea, and all those Provisions which were necessary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

When they took a strict Survey of the Ships, the

Prince Rupert  
undertakes the  
Command of  
the Prince's  
Fleet.

Carpenters were all of opinion, "that the *Convertine*,  
 " a Ship of the second Rank, that carried seventy  
 " Guns, was too old and decayed to be now set out  
 " in a Winter Voyage, and in so rough Seas, and that  
 " when a great deal of Money should be laid out to  
 " mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe."

And it did appear, that when the Officers of the Navy  
 had fitted her out at the beginning of the Summer,  
 they had declared, "that, when she came in again,  
 " she would not be fit for more use, but must be layed  
 " upon the Stocks." Whereupon the Ship was  
 brought into *Helvoet-Sluice*, upon the next Spring-  
 Tide, and examined by the best *Dutch* Carpenters  
 and Surveyors; and all being of the same mind, in-  
 formation was sent by Prince *Rupert* to the Prince of  
 the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the  
 Sale of the Ordnance, and whatsoever else would  
 yield Money: all which was applied to the Victual-  
 ling, and setting out the rest, without which no means  
 could have been found to have done it; so much ill  
 husbandry had been used, and so much direct cheat-  
 ing in the managing all the Money that had been  
 raised upon the Prizes

Prince *Rupert* remained all the time at *Helvoet-  
 Sluice*, till all was ready to set Sail, and had, with no-  
 table Vigor and Success, suppressed two or three Mu-  
 tinies, in one of which he had been compelled to  
 throw two or three Seamen over board by the  
 strength of his own Arms. All subordinate Officers  
 were appointed, Commissioners for the Sale of all  
 Prize-Goods, and Ships that should be taken, Treasurers  
 and Pay-masters for issuing and paying and re-  
 ceiving all Monies; and an establishment for the

**B O O K** whole too regular and strict to be observed: and  
**XI.** though all Persons employed were well known, and approved by Prince *Rupert*, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that Constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts, and issues under his own Management, and sole Government. When all was ready he came to the *Hague*, to take leave of the Prince, and returned, and about the beginning of *December* he set Sail for *Ireland*, met with good Prizes in the way, and arrived safely at *Kinsale*: nor had he been long gone out of *Holland*, when the Prince had a shrewd Evidence how unsecure a long abode would have been there, by some Parliament-Ships coming into that Road, and sending their Men on Shore, who at noon-day burnt the *Convertine* within the very Town of *Helvoet-Sluice*, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the Affront offered to themselves, and their Government.

Sets Sail for  
Ireland in  
December.

In this calamitous State of Affairs there seemed to be no hope left, but that by Treaty the King might yet be restored to such a condition, that there might be those Roots left in the Crown, from whence its former Power, and Prerogative might sprout out hereafter, and flourish. The Commissioners for the Treaty arrived in the Isle of *Wight* upon the fifteenth day of *September*, whilst *Cromwell* yet remained in his Northern Progress, and his Army divided into several parts for the finishing his Conquest; which was the reason that all they who wished ill to the Treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had used and interposed all the delays they could, that he might return

The Commis-  
sioners arrive  
in the Isle of  
Wight,  
Sept. 15.

before it begun, as they who wished it might succeed well, were as solicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less to insist upon many particulars both in the Propositions, and the Instructions, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies in the Treaty than before it.

They stayed three days in the Island before the Treaty begun, which was time little enough to prepare the House for the King's reception at *Newport*, and adjusting many circumstances of the Treaty. In that time they waited several times on the King, with great show of outward duty and respect; and though none of them durst adventure to see the King in private, they Communicated freely with some of those Lords, and others, who, with the Parliament's leave, were come to attend the King during the time of the Treaty. And so they found means to advertise his Majesty of many particulars, which they thought necessary for him to know; which made different impressions upon him, as the information proceeded from Persons better or worse affected to him. And many of those who had liberty to attend, were competent Considerers of the truth of what they said.

The truth is there were amongst the Commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the King would very cheerfully have granted; an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion being what they were principally concerned in. And of all the rest, who were more passionate for the Militia, and against the Church, there was no Man, except Sir *Harry Vane*, who did not desire that a Peace might be established



**B O O K** by that Treaty. For as all the other Lords desired,  
**xI'** in their own Natures and Affections, no more than that their Transgressions might never more be called to remembrance; so the Lord *Say* himself (who was as proud of his Quality, and of being distinguished from other Men by his Title, as any Man alive) well foresaw what would become of his Peerage, if the Treaty proved ineffectual, and the Army should make their own model of the Government they would submit to (as undoubtedly they resolved shortly to do) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was proposed to him, and, afterwards, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his Majesty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections soever they were, was the same, "that his Majesty  
 " should, forthwith, and without delaying it to the  
 " expiration of the Term assigned by the Parliament  
 " for the Treaty" (which was forty days) "yield to  
 " the full demands which were made in the Proposi-  
 " tions." Their only Argument was, "that, if he did  
 " not, or not do it quickly, the Army would proceed  
 " their own way; and had enough declared, that they  
 " would depose the King, change the Government,  
 " and settle a Republic by their own Rules and In-  
 " vention." And this Advertisement was as well be-  
 lieved by those of the King's own Party, as by the Commissioners themselves.

Before the Treaty began, the Commissioners made it known to the King, "that they could not admit  
 " that any Person should be present in the Room  
 " where the Treaty should be in debate: that they  
 " were

“ were Commissioners sent from the Parliament to  
 “ treat with his Majesty, and with Him alone ; and  
 “ that they might not permit any particular and pri-  
 “ vate Persons to oppose, or confer with them upon  
 “ the demands of the Parliament ” So that albeit the  
 Parliament had given leave to the several Bishops,  
 and other Divines, and to many Lawyers of eminence  
 to wait on his Majesty, upon his desire, that they  
 might instruct and inform him in all difficult cases  
 which related to Religion or the Law of the Land,  
 they were like to be of little use to him now they  
 were come, if they might not be present at the debate,  
 and offer such advice to his Majesty, as upon emer-  
 gent occasions he should stand in need of, or require  
 from them. At last they were contented, and his Ma-  
 jesty was obliged to be contented too, that they might  
 stand behind a Curtain, and hear all that was said, and  
 when any such difficulty occurred as would require  
 consultation, his Majesty might retire to his Chamber,  
 and call those to him, with whom he would advise,  
 to attend him, and might then return again into the  
 Room for the Treaty, and declare his own Resolu-  
 tion. This was the unequal and unreasonable preli-  
 minary and condition to which the King was com-  
 pelled to submit before the Treaty could begin.

They who had not seen the King in a Year's time  
 (for it was little less from the time that he had left  
*Hampton Court*) found his Countenance extremely  
 altered. From the time that his own Servants had been  
 taken from him, he would never suffer his hair to be  
 cut, nor cared to have any new Clothes ; so that his  
 aspect and appearance was very different from what

B O O K it had used to be: otherwise, his health was good,  
 XI. and he was much more cheerful in his discourses towards all Men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his Spirits, but carried himself with the same Majesty he had used to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very sad, made it thought that he had sorrow in his countenance, which appeared only by that shadow.

Upon Monday the 18<sup>th</sup> of September, the Treaty begun and the Commissioners presented their Commission to his Majesty, to treat with him Personally, upon the Propositions presented formerly at *Hampton-Court*, concerning the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland* only, and upon such Propositions as should be offered either by his Majesty, or the two Houses of Parliament, according to their Instructions, &c. Though the King knew very well, that *Cromwell* had so totally subdued *Scotland*, that he had not left any Man there in the least Authority or Power, who did so much as pretend to wish well to him, and that, in truth, *Cromwell* had as much the Command there as *Argyle* himself had, who was but his Creature, yet either to recover their broken Spirits, or to manifest his own Royal Compassion for them, he told the Commissioners, "that, when the Propositions had been delivered to him at *Hampton-Court*, the *Scottish* Interest was so involved in them, that it could be hardly separable from that of *England*: that it concerned him, as King of both Kingdoms, to be just and equal between both; and that though they had no Authority to treat for any thing but

“ what related to *England*, yet He, who was to pro- B O O K  
 “ vide for the public Peace (which could hardly be XI.  
 “ provided for, except the *Scots* were comprehended  
 “ in this Treaty) did desire, that they would sent to  
 “ the two Houses of Parliament, to give a Pass for  
 “ one of his Servants to go into *Scotland*, to invite the  
 “ Council there to send some body authorized by  
 “ that Kingdom, who might treat with the Commis-  
 “ sioners of Parliament:” and to that purpose his  
 Majesty delivered them a Paper in writing to be sent  
 by them to the Parliament, telling them at the same  
 time, “ that it was never his desire or meaning, that  
 “ they should meddle in the Government of *England*,  
 “ but only should treat concerning the Peace, to the  
 “ end that that might be durable. But the Commis-  
 “ sioners alledged, that it was not in Their power to  
 “ receive and transmit that, or any other Paper, to  
 “ the Parliament, that referred to that Kingdom; and  
 “ they besought him to give them leave, as an evi-  
 “ dence of their Duty, to inform him of what ill con-  
 “ sequence the transmission of that Paper at that time  
 “ might be to the Treaty itself. Whereupon he de-  
 clined sending it by a Messenger of his own for the  
 present (which he intended to have done) being un-  
 willing to give any occasion of dispute or jealousy so  
 early, and believing that after he should have gotten  
 a good understanding with the two Houses, in what  
 was of immediate concernment to *England*, he should  
 more effectually transmit that, or any other Paper,  
 for the more easy composing the affairs of *Scotland*.

Then they presented their first Proposition to his Majesty; “ that he would revoke all Declarations,

The first  
 Proposition  
 for revoking



BOOK  
 1.  
 all his Ma-  
 jesty's Decla-  
 rations, &c.

“ and Commissions granted heretofore by him  
 “ against the Parliament.” Whereupon his Majesty  
 desired, “ that he might see all the Propositions, they  
 “ had to make to him, together; that he might the  
 “ better consider what satisfaction he could give them  
 “ upon the whole:” which they would not yield to  
 without much importunity, and at last delivered  
 them with reluctance as a thing they were not sure  
 they ought to do. And though their Commission re-  
 ferred to Instructions, and his Majesty desired that he  
 might have a view of those, they peremptorily refused  
 to let him have a sight of them; and only told him;  
 “ that they were directed by their Instructions, first  
 “ to treat upon the Proposition they had already pre-  
 “ sented to him, concerning the revocation of the  
 “ Declaration, &c. and in the next place, of the  
 “ Church, then of the Militia, and fourthly of *Ire-*  
 “ *land* and afterwards of the rest of the Propositions  
 “ in order; and they declared likewise that, by their  
 “ Instructions, they were not to enter upon any new  
 “ Propositions before they should have received his  
 “ Majesty's final Answer to what was first proposed.”

Then upon the King demanded of them, “ whether  
 “ they had power and authority to recede from any  
 “ particular contained in their Propositions, or to  
 “ consent to any alterations, if his Majesty should  
 “ give them good reason so to do?” To which they  
 Answered very Magisterially, “ that they were ready  
 “ to debate, to show how reasonable their desires  
 “ were, and that there could be no reason why they  
 “ should alter or recede from them; but if his Ma-  
 “ jesty did satisfy them, they should do therein as

“ they were warranted by their Instructions. ” These limitations and restrictions in a matter of that importance, which contained a new frame of Government, and an alteration of all Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, almost damped and stifled all the hope his Majesty had entertained of good from this Treaty. However, he resolved to try if consenting to the substantial part of any Proposition would give them satisfaction; and so, without taking notice of the Preamble of that Proposition, which they had delivered to him, he declared in writing, which he delivered to them, “ that he was willing to grant the Body of their Proposition, that was to recal all Declarations, &c.” But they immediately returned another Paper to him, in which they said, “ his Majesty had left unanswered the most essential part of their Proposition, repeating the words in the Preamble,” which recited, “ that the two Houses of Parliament had been necessitated to enter into a War in their just and lawful defence; and that the Kingdom of *England* had entered into a solemn League and Covenant to prosecute the same;” and so justifying all that had been done, &c. To all which they very vehemently pressed “ his Majesty’s approbation and consent, as the most necessary foundation of a lasting Peace, and the indispensable expectation of the two Houses and of the whole Kingdom; and that the two Houses, and the Kingdom, could not decline this particular demand, without which they could not believe themselves to be in any security; since, by the Letter of the Law, they who had adhered to the Parliament, might seem Guilty of

B O O K

XI.

His Majesty’s  
Answer to  
it.

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XI.

“ raising War against the King, and so to be guilty  
 “ of High-Treason by the Statute of the 25<sup>th</sup> year of  
 “ King *Edward* the third: whereas by the construc-  
 “ tion and Equity thereof they were justified; and  
 “ therefore that the consenting to this Preamble was  
 “ so essential, that without it the Parliament would  
 “ be thought guilty; which they hoped his Majesty  
 “ did not desire it should. ” And that this might make  
 the deeper impression upon him, the Lord *Say*, in  
 the debate of it, twice repeated, with more passion  
 than was natural to his Constitution, “ that he did  
 “ tremble to think how sad the consequence would  
 “ be, if what they now pressed should be denied.  
 And others said, “ that it was no more than his Ma-  
 “ jesty had heretofore granted in the Act of Indem-  
 “ nity that he had passed in *Scotland*; and if he should  
 “ now refuse to do it in *England*, there would be a  
 “ speedy end put to the Treaty, without entering  
 “ upon any of the other Propositions.” The King  
 was so much perplexed, and offended with this  
 haughty way of reasoning, that he told those with  
 whom he consulted, and writ the same to the Prince  
 his Son, “ that the long restraint he had endured in  
 “ the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, was not a greater evidence  
 “ of the Captivity of his Person, nor was he more  
 “ sensible of it, than this was of the Captivity of his  
 “ Mind, by his being forced to decline those An-  
 “ swers and Arguments which were proper to the  
 “ support of his Cause, and which must have brought  
 “ blushes over the Faces of the Commissioners, and  
 “ to frame others more seasonable and fit to be offer-  
 “ red to Men in that condition from him who was  
 “ to receive, and not give conditions.”

However, this Proposition was of so horrid and monstrous a Nature, so contrary to the known truth, and so destructive to justice and government, that it seemed to naturalize Rebellion, and to make it current in the Kingdom to all Posterity. that his Majesty could not forbear to tell them, “ that no Act of Parliament could make that to be true which was notoriously known to be false; that this Treaty must be the foundation of the future Peace and Security, and what was herein provided for both could never be called in question; that he was most willing, that it should be made very penal to every Man to reproach another for any thing he had done during the late Troubles, upon what Provocation soever.” He put them in mind, “ that it was well known to some of them, that the Act of Indemnity in *Scotland* was passed when his Majesty was not there, nor any Commissioner appointed by him; that it was prepared, and drawn by his Attorney-General of that Kingdom, who was then of the Party that was against his Majesty; and therefore it was no wonder that he called those of his own side, Loyal Subjects, and good Christians, in the Preamble of that Act; which was never seen by his Majesty, though it was confirmed indeed, with the other Acts which had passed in that disorderly time, by his Majesty upon the conclusion of the Peace, and their return to their obedience; and that, when that should be the case here, he would give them all the appellations they should desire, and as unquestionable security as they could wish.” To all which they made no other reply, and

XI.  
Dispute concerning the  
Preamble of  
it.



**B O O K** that unanimously, " but that they could not believe  
**XL.** " themselves secure, if that Preamble was not entirely consented to."

This refractory obstinate adherence of the Commissioners to their own Will, without any shadow of reason, prevailed nothing upon the King; inso-much as he was inclined to run the hazard of the present dissolution of the Treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniencies and mischiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to sacrifice his Honor, and the Justness of his cause, to their insolent demand, until he had entered into a serious deliberation with those Persons who were about him, of whose affections to him he had all assurance, and of the great abilities, and understanding of most of them he had a very just esteem. They all represented to him, from the conference they had with such of the Commissioners, who, they were confident, spoke to them as they thought and believed, " that if there were no  
 " expedient found out to give more satisfaction upon  
 " this first Proposition, than his Majesty had yet  
 " offered, as soon as the Commissioners should give  
 " account of it to the two Houses, they would be  
 " presently recalled; and the Treaty be at an end:  
 " and then it would be universally declared and be-  
 " lieved, how untrue forever the assertion was, that  
 " the King refused to secure the Parliament, and all  
 " who had adhered to them, from a Prosecution by  
 " Law; upon which they thought it to no purpose to  
 " proceed farther in the Treaty: whereas if his Ma-  
 " jesty had condescended to them in that particular,  
 " which concerned the Lives and Fortunes of their

“ whole Party in the Kingdom, they would have  
 “ given him such satisfaction in all other particulars,  
 “ as a full and happy Peace must have ensued.”

B O O K

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Then the Lawyers informed him, “ that his giving  
 “ way to a recital in a new Law, which was not a  
 “ Declaratory Law of what the Law was formerly in  
 “ being, concerning the business in question, and  
 “ only in a Preamble to a Law for recalling Declara-  
 “ tions, &c. did not make their Actions lawful, if  
 “ they were not so before; nor did it take away from  
 “ those who had adhered to him, any defence or  
 “ benefit the former Laws had given to them; nor  
 “ would his Party be in a worse condition than they  
 “ had always been: for his Majesty had always  
 “ offered, in all his Declarations, that they who fol-  
 “ lowed him, and who were by them called Delin-  
 “ quents, should, at all times, submit to a Trial by  
 “ the Laws of the Land, and if they should be found  
 “ guilty of any crime, they should not be protected  
 “ by him. And it was evident, by their not prose-  
 “ cuting any one, since they were fallen into their  
 “ hands, in any legal way, that they do not think  
 “ their transgressions can be punished by Law.”

Upon these reasons, and the joint advice and im-  
 portunity of all about him, as well the Divines as the  
 Lawyers, the King first delivered a Paper in writing  
 to the Commissioners, in which he declared, “ that  
 “ nothing that should be put in writing concerning  
 “ any Proposition, or part of any Proposition, should  
 “ be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, if the Trea-  
 “ ty should break off without effect:” and the Com-  
 missioners presented another Paper in writing, in

B O O K

XI.

The King  
consents to it.

which they fully consented to that Declaration. in the very terms of the said Declaration. Thereupon the King consented to pass the first Proposition, with  
 “ the Preamble to it, albeit, he said, that he well fore-  
 “ saw the aspersions it would expose him to; yet he  
 “ hoped his good Subjects would confess that it was  
 “ but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit,  
 “ and the peace of his Dominions.”

The second  
Proposition  
concerning  
Religion and  
the Church.

The first Proposition being thus consented to as they could wish, they delivered their second concerning Religion and the Church; which comprehended, “ the utter abolishing Episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans  
 “ and Chapters, and alienating their Lands, which  
 “ should be sold to the use and benefit of the Com-  
 “ mon-wealth; the Covenant; which was presented  
 “ to his Majesty to take himself, and to impose upon  
 “ all others: the Common-Prayer, and public Liturgy  
 “ of the Church to be abolished, and taken away;  
 “ and that the Reformation of Religion, according  
 “ to the Covenant, in such manner as both Houses  
 “ had, or should agree, after consultation with Di-  
 “ vines, should be settled by Act of Parliament:”  
 which, the King told them, “ exceeded the Implicit  
 “ faith of the Church of *Rome*; which rather obliges  
 “ her Profelytes to what she Does hold. than to  
 “ what she Shall.” It required “ the establishing the  
 “ Presbyterian-Government, the Directory, the Ar-  
 “ ticles of Christian Religion” (a Body whereof they  
 presented) “ the suppressing Innovations in Church-  
 “ es; for the better advancement of Preaching the  
 “ observation of the Lord’s day; a Bill against Plu-

“ ralities and Non-residency; several Acts against Pa- B O O K  
 “ pists; and the taking and imposing the Covenant.” XI.

This pregnant Proposition, containing so many monstrous particulars, sufficiently warned his Majesty, how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all; and therefore having, by consenting to the entire first Proposition, put it out of their power to break off the Treaty, and to tell the People, “ that the King, at the entrance into it, had denied “ to give them any security for their Lives and Fortunes,” he thought it now fit to offer to the Commissioners a Proposition of his own, that both the Parliament, and the People, might clearly discern how much of his own Right and Dignity he would sacrifice for their Peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour, upon one single Proposition, or part of a Proposition, to break the Treaty.

*The King offers a Proposition of his own; which the Commissioners refuse to send to the Houses.*

His own Proposition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. “ That he might enjoy his Liberty: 2. That his Revenue might be restored to him: 3. That an Act of Oblivion might pass:” which, he very well knew, would be most grateful to those who seemed to value it least, as it would exempt his own Friends from many illegal, and unjust vexations.

The Commissioners absolutely refused to send it to the Houses, though they had no Authority to Answer it themselves. They said, “ it rather contained an Answer to all their Propositions, than was a single Proposition of his own; and that the sole end of making it, was to cajole the People;” which, the



## BOOK

## XI.

The King  
sends it by  
Messengers  
of his own;  
but it is  
voted unsatis-  
factory.

Their Minis-  
ters dispute  
with the  
King about  
the Bishops.

King told them, "better became Him to do than  
"any Body else." But when they peremptorily re-  
fused to transmit it to the Houses, the King sent an  
Express of his own to deliver it; which being done,  
after some days deliberation, the Houses returned  
no other Answer to the King, "than that his Propo-  
"sition was not satisfactory." In the mean time the  
Commissioners pressed for his Answer to the first part  
of their Proposition, for the abolishing of Bishops.  
It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down  
at large the Dispute, and Arguments which were  
used on both side upon this Subject. The Commis-  
sioners, who would not suffer any of the King's Ser-  
vants to be so much as present when any thing of the  
Treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose  
their own Clergy upon the King; who was much  
better versed in the Argument than They were.

That which they urged most, was the common  
Allegations "that Bishop and Presbyter in the Scrip-  
"ture-Language signified one and the same thing:  
"that, if the Apostles exercised a larger Jurisdiction,  
"it had been granted to them as Apostles, and  
"concerned not their Successors, to whom no such  
"Authority had been granted, nor any Superiority  
"over other Presbyters, who were of the same Func-  
"tion with them." Then they inveighed vehemently  
against "Lords Bishops; their Pride, and Lustre;"  
and they all behaved themselves with that rudeness,  
as if they meant to be no longer subject to a King, no  
more than to a Bishop. And two of them very  
plainly and fiercely told the King, "that if he did not  
"consent to the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, he

“ would be damned ; ” with which his Majesty was not moved. The Men, *Jenkins* and *Spurflow*, lived after the return of King *Charles* the Second, and, according to the modesty of that race of People, came to kiss his Majesty’s hand, and continued the same Zeal in all Seditious Attempts.

B O O K  
X I.

The King pressed them with those Texts of Scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *Jus Divinum* of Bishops, the Authority of the Fathers, and the Government of all Christian Churches for fifteen hundred years. and particularly of the Church of *England*, before and since the Reformation, by constant and uniform practice and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by Bishops. The Commissioners relieved their ill-mannered Clergy, and urged, “ that  
“ whatsoever was not of Divine Institution might  
“ very lawfully be altered ; for if it had its Original  
“ from Men, it might by Men be changed, or re-  
“ versed: that Episcopacy as it was established in  
“ the Church by the Laws of *England*, was not that  
“ Episcopacy that was mentioned or prescribed in  
“ Scripture ; and therefore the Laws which support-  
“ ed it, might be justly taken away ; which, they  
“ said, was the reason that had induced many Men  
“ who were not Enemies to Episcopacy, to take the  
“ Covenant ; which obliged them to take the present  
“ Hierarchy away.”

In a word they urged, “ the practice of other Re-  
“ formed Churches, and that his Majesty insisting  
“ upon the preservation of Episcopacy, as essentially  
“ necessary, was to reproach and condemn Them.”

B O O K To which he Answered, "that both *Calvin* and *Beza*,  
 XI. "and most learned Men of the Reformed Churches,  
 "had approved, and commended the Episcopal  
 "Government in *England*; and many of them had  
 "bemoaned themselves, that they were not permitted  
 "to retain that Government."

Besides all their Arguments in public, which his Majesty with wonderful acuteness fully Answered, and delivered his Answers in writing to them (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto) they found means in private to advertise the King, that is, such of them who were known to wish well to him, "that they were of his Majesty's judgment  
 "with reference to the Government, which they  
 "hoped might yet be preserved, but not by the method his Majesty pursued: that all the reasonable  
 "hope of preserving the Crown, was in dividing the  
 "Parliament from the Army; which could be only  
 "done by his giving satisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the Church; which  
 "would unite the Parliament in itself, some few Persons excepted, and the City to the Parliament;  
 "where the Presbyterians were most powerful; and  
 "this being done, the Parliament would immediately have power to reform their Army; and to  
 "disband those who would not be reformed: That  
 "then the King would be removed to *London*, to  
 "perfect that by his own presence in Parliament,  
 "which should be prepared by this Treaty; and  
 "then the wording those Bills, and the formality of  
 "passing them, would give opportunity for many  
 "alterations; which, being now attempted, would

“ destroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the  
 “ Army; which would destroy the King: But then,  
 “ what the King urged as matter of Conscience in  
 “ himself would find respect, reverence, and concu-  
 “ rence.” No doubt they who did make these In-  
 sinuations, did in truth believe themselves; and did  
 think, as well as wish, that the sequel would be such  
 as they foretold. But that which had more Authority  
 with the King, and which no body about him could  
 put him in mind of, because none of them had been  
 Privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had  
 promised concerning the Church to the *Scots*, in the  
 Engagement at the Isle of *Wight*; which he could  
 not but conclude was well known to many of the  
 Presbyterians in *England*: and he thought, that what-  
 ever he had promised to do then, upon the bare hope  
 and probability of raising an Army, he might rea-  
 sonably now offer when that Army was destroyed,  
 and no hope left of raising another. And thereupon  
 he did, with much reluctancy, offer the same he had  
 then promised to do; which was, “ to suspend Epis-  
 “ copacy for three years, and then upon consultation  
 “ with Divines, amongst which he would nominate  
 “ twenty to be present, and to consult with them,  
 “ such a Government of the Church, as should be  
 “ agreed upon, might be established: that he would  
 “ not force any Man to take the Covenant, and  
 “ would have the Privilege of his own Chapel to use  
 “ the Common-Prayer, and observe the same wor-  
 “ ship he had used to do; and that all Persons, who  
 “ desired it, might have liberty to take the Covenant,  
 “ and to use the Directory; in fine, he consented to

B O O K

XI.

The King's  
 Concessions  
 on this point.



**B O O K** " all that he had offered in that Engagement with  
**XI.** " reference to the Government of the Church;" and likewise, " that Money should be raised upon the sale of the Church-Lands, and only the old Rent should be reserved to the just owners and their successors." These, with some other Concessions of less importance, which related to other Branches of the same Proposition, *magna inter suspiria*, he delivered to the Commissioners as his final Answer; which the Major part of them, did then believe would have preserved his Majesty from farther importunity and vexation in that particular.

The third  
 Proposition  
 concerning  
 the Militia.

The next Proposition was concerning the Militia; which was their Darling; and distinguished the *Scots* from the *English* Presbyterians; the former never desiring to invade that unquestionable Privilege of the Crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of Presbytery itself; and in that particular concurred even with *Cromwell*, and made little doubt of subduing him by it in a short time. In this demand they exercised their usual modesty, and to abridge the substance of it in few words, they required " a power to keep up the present Army, and to raise what other Armies they pleased for the future; which gave them Authority over the Persons of all Subjects, of what degree or quality soever. Secondly, a power to raise Money for the use and maintenance of those Forces, in such a manner, and by such ways and means, as they should think fit." And hereby they had had the disposal of the Estates and Fortunes of all Men without restraint, or limitation. Thirdly, " all  
 " Forces

“ Forces by Land and Sea to be managed, and disposed as They should think fit, and not otherwise.” All this modest Power and Authority “ must be granted to the Lords and Commons for twenty years.” And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, “ that in all Cases, when the Lords and Commons shall declare the Safety of the Kingdom to be concerned, unless the King give his Royal Assent to such a Bill as shall be tendered to him for raising Money, the Bill shall have the force of an Act of Parliament, as if he had given his Royal Assent.”

There were other particulars included, of power to the City of *London* over the Militia, and for the Tower of *London*, of no importance to the King, if he once disposed, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the rest belonged. Here the King was to consider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he might reasonably hope so to limit it, that They might have Authority enough to please them, and He reserve some to himself for his own security. The King had thought with himself, upon revolving all Expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propose “ that the Inhabitants of every County should be the standing Militia of the Kingdom, to be drawn out of the Counties upon any occasions which should occur ;” which would prevent all excessive Taxes and Impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly discerned that such a Proposition would be presently called a Conspiracy against the Army, and

**B O O K** so put an end to all other Expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant Power in such a manner, that it might not appear so monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and therefore proposed, “that none should be compelled to serve in the War against their Wills, but in case of an Invasion by Foreign Enemies: that the Power concerning the Land-Forces should be exercised to no other Purposes, than for the suppressing of Forces which might at any time be raised without the Authority and Consent of the Lords and Commons, and for the keeping up, and maintaining the Forts and Garrisons, and the present Army, so long as it should be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament: That what Monies should at any time be thought necessary to be raised, should be raised by general and equal Taxes, and Impositions; and lastly, that all Patents and Commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the King’s name, by Warrant signified by the Lords and Commons, or such other signification as they should direct, and authorize.”

**XI.**

The King’s  
Answer.

This voted by  
the Parlia-  
ment unsatis-  
factory.

These Limitations were sent to the Parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, soon Voted “that the Message was unsatisfactory.” Hereupon, that he might at least leave some Monument and Record of his care and tenderness of his People (for after his extorted Concessions to the so great prejudice of the Church, he never considered what might be dangerous to his own Person) he delivered his consent to the Proposition itself to the Commissioners, with a Preamble to this purpose;

B O O K

XI.

The King  
consents to  
it with a  
Preamble.

“ that whereas their Proposition concerning the Mi-  
 “ litia, required a far larger power over the Persons  
 “ and Estates of his Subjects, than had been ever  
 “ hitherto warranted by the Laws and Statutes of the  
 “ Kingdom, yet in regard the present distractions  
 “ might require more, and trusting in his two Hou-  
 “ ses of Parliament, that they would make no farther  
 “ use of the power therein mentioned, after the pre-  
 “ sent distempers should be settled, than should be  
 “ agreeable to the legal Exercise thereof in times past,  
 “ and for the purposes particularly mentioned in their  
 “ Proposition, and to give satisfaction to his two  
 “ Houses of Parliament that he intends a full security  
 “ to them, and to express his real desires to settle  
 “ the Peace of the Kingdom, his Majesty doth con-  
 “ sent to the Proposition concerning the Militia as it  
 “ was desired.” This the Commissioners did by no  
 means like, nor would acquiesce in, and alledged,  
 “ that as the Concession must be the Subject of an  
 “ Act of Parliament, so this Preamble must be a part  
 “ of it, and would administer occasion of difference  
 “ and dispute upon the interpretation of it; which  
 “ being so clearly foreseen, ought not to be admitted  
 “ in any Act of Parliament, much less in such a One  
 “ as is to be the principal Foundation of a lasting  
 “ Peace of the Kingdom.” After much vexation of  
 this kind, and importunity of Friends, as well as of  
 Enemies, and being almost as weary of denying as  
 of granting, he suffered the Preamble to be left out,  
 and his consent to be delivered without it.

At last con-  
sents to it  
without the  
Preamble.

It may be well wondered at, that, after having so far complied with these three Propositions, there



**B O O K**  
**XI.**

The fourth  
Proposition  
concerning  
Ireland.

should be any pause or hesitation in the debate of the rest. For in that concerning the Church, and the other concerning the Militia, both the Church, and the Militia of *Ireland* followed the Fate of *England*, and were in effect comprehended in the same Propositions: so that there remained nothing more with reference to that Kingdom, “but declaring the Peace, “that was made there with the *Irish*, to be void; “which they pressed with the same passion, as if “they had obtained nothing;” although his Majesty referred the carrying on the War to them, and told them, “that he knew nothing of the Peace, which “had been made during his Imprisonment, when he “could receive no Advertisement of what was “doing, or done; and therefore he was content that “it should be broken, and the War be carried on in “such a manner as should please Them;” which was all one to their ends and purposes, as what they desired. But this did by no means please them. If the Peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not so easily take that vengeance of the Marquis of *Ormond* as they resolved to do. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concerned Himself, and the Public, and when the necessity that had obliged him to that unwilling compliance, might well have excused him for satisfying them in all the rest of their demands, when they pressed his consent to what only concerned private and particular Persons, as the revoking all Honors and Grants of Offices which he had conferred upon those who had served him faithfully, and to except many of them from Pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censure of

the two Houses, both for their Lives and Fortunes; to submit others to pay, for their Delinquency in obeying and serving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their several Professions, and Functions (which exposed all the Lawyers and Divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin) it cannot be expressed with what grief, and trouble of mind he received those importunities; and without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died, than submitted to it; but the Argument "that he had done so much, was now pressed upon him" (by his Friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it) "that he should do more; and since he had condescended to many things which gave himself no satisfaction, he would give so full satisfaction to the Parliament, that He might receive that benefit, and the Kingdom that Peace and Security he desired."

Some other  
particulars  
the King at  
first sticks at

Many Advertisements came from his Friends in *London*, and from other places, "that it was high time that the Treaty were at an end, and that the Parliament had all his Majesty's Answers before them, to determine what they would do upon them, before the Army drew nearer *London*; which, infallibly, it would shortly do, as soon as those in the North had finished their work." It was now near the end of *October*, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the Treaty was the fourth of *November*; and so after all importunities, as well of those who were to suffer, as of those who were to triumph in their sufferings, his Majesty's consent was procured

BOOK

XI.

But consents  
at last.The Commis-  
sioners now  
send the  
King's own  
Proposition to  
the Parlia-  
ment.They require  
a Declaration  
of the King  
against the  
Marquis of  
Ormond.  
His Majesty's  
Answer.

to most that was demanded in the rest of the Propositions; the King and all Men, conceiving the Treaty to be at an end.

The King had, about the middle of *October*, again delivered his own Proposition for his Liberty, his Revenue, and an Act of Oblivion, to the Commissioners; which they received. And though, at the beginning of the Treaty, they had refused to transmit it to the Houses, yet now, after so many concessions, they thought fit to send it; and did so as soon as they received it. But no Answer was returned. Hereupon, when the Treaty was within two days of expiring, his Majesty demanded of them, “whether  
“ they had received any Instructions to treat upon,  
“ or to give an Answer to his own Proposition, which  
“ he had delivered to them so long since? or whe-  
“ ther they had received any Order to prolong the  
“ Treaty?” To which they Answered, “they had  
“ not as to either.” And when he asked them the same Question, the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same Answer. So that the whole forty days assigned for the Treaty were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any Answer to the single Proposition the King had made to them. However they told him, “they had received new Command  
“ to make fresh instance to his Majesty, that he  
“ would forthwith publish a Declaration against the  
“ Marquis of *Ormond*; who had very lately declared,  
“ that he had Authority to make a Peace with the  
“ *Irish* Rebels; and was then treating with them to  
“ that purpose. To which his Majesty Answered,  
“ that it was not reasonable to press him to publish

“ any Declaration against the Marquis: since that if  
 “ the Treaty should end happily, the desires of the  
 “ two Houses were satisfied by the Concessions he  
 “ had already made;” and so adhered to his first  
 Answer. And conceiving the Treaty to be closed,  
 he desired the Commissioners, “ that since He had  
 “ departed from so much of his own Right to give  
 “ his two Houses satisfaction, They would be a  
 “ means that he might be pressed no farther; since  
 “ the few things he had not satisfied them in, had so  
 “ near relation to his Conscience, that, with the  
 “ Peace of that, he could not yield farther; and de-  
 “ sired them to use the same eloquence, and abilities,  
 “ by which they had prevailed with Him, in repre-  
 “ senting to the two Houses the sad condition of the  
 “ Kingdom, if it were not preserved by this Treaty.”  
 And so concluded with many gracious expressions  
 for their Personal civilities, and other kind Expres-  
 sions; which made impression upon all of them who  
 had any Bowels.

All this being past, and the King believing and  
 expecting that the Commissioners would take their  
 leave of him the next morning, they came the same  
 Night to inform him, “ that they had then received  
 “ new Orders and Instructions for the continuing  
 “ and enlarging the Treaty for fourteen days longer;”  
 for which his Majesty was nothing glad; nor did  
 they in the Houses who wished well to him, desire  
 that Prolongation. For it was easily discerned, that  
 it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did  
 not intend that the Treaty itself should have any  
 good effect; which they were not yet ready and

The Parlia-  
 ment enlarges  
 the Treaty 14  
 days longer.



**B O O K** prepared enough to prevent, the Army not having  
**XI.** yet finished what they were to do in all places; and  
 was consented to unskilfully, by those who thought  
 the continuance of the Treaty was the best sign that  
 both sides desired Peace: and it quickly appeared,  
 by the new instances they made, that delay was their  
 only business. The Commissioners, with new im-  
 portunity, and bitterness, begun upon their new In-  
 structions, "that the King would immediately publish  
 " the Declaration against the Marquis of *Ormond*,"  
 without any other reasons than those which he had  
 Answered before. His Majesty Answered, "there  
 " was no other difference between them but in point  
 " of time, whether presently, or at the conclusion  
 " of the Peace: upon the Peace, they had the sub-  
 " stance of their desire already granted; and if there  
 " were no Peace, they had reason to believe that no  
 " Declaration he should make would be believed or  
 " obeyed;" and so adhered to what he had An-  
 swered formerly.

The Commis-  
 sioners renew  
 their De-  
 mand about  
*Ormond*.

His Majesty's  
 Answer.

They urge  
 farther about  
 the Church.

Then they declared, "that the Parliament was not  
 " satisfied with his Concessions with reference to the  
 " Church; that the Presbyterian Government could  
 " be exercised with little profit, or comfort, if it  
 " should appear to be so short-lived as to continue but  
 " for three years; and that they must therefore press  
 " the utter extirpating the Function of Bishops."  
 Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their Lands  
 was insisted on; whereas by the King's Concessions,  
 the old Rent was still reserved to them. They said,  
 "the Parliament did not intend to force, but only to  
 " rectify his Conscience;" and, to that end, they

added more reasons to convince him in the several points. They repeated their old distinction between the Scripture-Bishop, and the Bishop by Law. For the absolute alienation of their Lands, they urged many Precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or necessity, not so visible and manifest as appeared at present; and concluded with their usual threat, "that the consequence of his denial would be the continuance of the public disturbances."

To all which his Majesty Answered, "that, for the Presbyterian Government, they might remember that their own first Order for the settling it, was only for three years; which they then thought a competent time for a Probationary Law, that contained such an alteration in the State; and therefore they ought to think the same now: and that it might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that time bear the test, and examination of it; and that nothing could be a greater honor to that discipline, than its being able to bear that test and examination." He said, "he was well pleased with their Expression, that they did not intend to force his Conscience; yet the manner of pressing him looked very like it, after he had so solemnly declared that it was against his Conscience; that he did concur with them in their distinction of Bishops, and if they would preserve the Scripture-Bishop, he would take away the Bishop by Law." He confessed, "that Necessity might justify, or excuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the Church of God of an Order instituted for con-

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The King's  
Answer.

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“ tinal use, and for establishing a Succession of Law-  
 “ ful Ministers in the Church.” For the point of Sacri-  
 lege, he said, “ the concurrent opinion of all Divines  
 “ was a much better information to his Conscience,  
 “ what is Sacrilege, than any Precedents or Law of  
 “ the Land could be.” Upon the whole matter, he  
 adhered to his former Answer in all the particulars,  
 and concluded, “ that he could with more comfort  
 “ cast himself upon God’s goodness to support him  
 “ in, and defend him from all Afflictions, how great  
 “ soever, that might befall him, than deprive himself  
 “ of the inward tranquillity of his mind, for any  
 “ Politic consideration that might seem to be a means  
 “ to restore him.”

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when  
 the Treaty was to end, they delivered to the King  
 the Votes which the two Houses had passed concern-  
 ing and upon his own Message ( which had lain so  
 long in their hands unanswered ) which were in effect,

The Parlia-  
 ment’s Votes  
 upon the  
 King’s former  
 Proposition.

1. “ That from and after such time as the Agreements  
 “ upon this Treaty should be ratified by Acts of Par-  
 “ liament, all his Houses, Mannors, and Lands, with  
 “ the growing Rents and Profits thereof, and all  
 “ other Legal Revenue of the Crown should be res-  
 “ tored to him, liable to the maintenance of those  
 “ Ancient Forts, and Castles, and such other Legal  
 “ Charges as they were formerly charged withal or  
 “ liable to. 2. That he should be then likewise reset-  
 “ tled in a condition of Honor, Freedom, and Safety,  
 “ agreeable to the Laws of the Land. 3. That an Act  
 “ of Indemnity should be then passed with such ex-  
 “ ceptions and limitations as should be agreed upon,

“ with this addition, that it should be declared by  
 “ Act of Parliament, that nothing contained in his  
 “ Majesty’s Propositions should be understood or  
 “ made use of to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree  
 “ to impair any Agreement in this Treaty, or any  
 “ Law, Grant, or Commission agreed upon by his Ma-  
 “ jesty and the two Houses of Parliament, in pursu-  
 “ ance thereof; in all which his Majesty acquiesced.”

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The time limited for the Prolongation of the Treaty was to end upon the one-and-twentieth of *November*, and the Commissioners believed it so absolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the King, and early the next Morning went to *Cowsharbour* to Embark themselves. But the Tide not serving to Transport them out of the Island, that Night a Messenger arrived with Directions to them to continue the Treaty till the five-and-twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three- and - twentieth, they returned and acquainted his Majesty with it.

Another  
 Prolongation  
 of the Treaty  
 till Nov. 25.

At the same time, the thundering Declaration of the Army was published; which declared the full resolution “ to change the whole frame of the Government, and that they would be contented with no less an alteration;” which, as it was an Argument to the King to endeavour all he could to unite the two Houses, that they might be able to bear that shock, so it was expected that it would have been no less an Argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, since Their Interest was no less threatened than His.

The Decla-  
 ration of the  
 Army.

The fresh Instances the Commissioners made, were upon several Votes which had passed the two Houses

The Commis-  
 sioners new  
 Propositions



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against Delin-  
quents since  
Jan. 47. and  
others, espe-  
cially the  
Marquis of  
Ormond.

against Delinquents; and a new Proposition concern-  
ing those who had engaged themselves against the  
Parliament since the last *January*, and particularly  
against the Marquis of *Ormond*. They proposed,  
“ that there should be seven Persons, the Lord *New-*  
“ *Castle*, and six others” ( who were named ) “ who  
“ should be excepted from pardon, and their Estates  
“ forfeited: that the Delinquents, in the several Clas-  
“ ses mentioned in their Proposition, should pay for  
“ their Composition, some a Moiety, others a third  
“ part of their Estates, and other Rates, as they were  
“ set down; and that all who had been engaged in  
“ the Land or Sea-Service since *January 1647*, should  
“ pay a full year’s value of their whole Estates more  
“ than the other Delinquents; and that none who  
“ had been against the Parliament should presume to  
“ come within either of the Courts belonging to the  
“ King, Queen, or Prince, or be capable of any  
“ Office or Preferment, or of serving in Parliament,  
“ for the space of three years; and that all Clergy-  
“ Men who had been against the Parliament, should  
“ be deprived of all their Preferments, Places, and  
“ Promotions; which should be all void as if they  
“ were naturally dead.” To these the King Answered,  
that, “ to the excepting the seven Persons named  
“ from Pardon, and the forfeiture of their Estates,  
“ his Answer was, that, if they were proceeded  
“ against according to the ancient established Laws,  
“ and could not justify and defend themselves, he  
“ would not interpose on their behalf; but he could  
“ not, in justice or honor, join himself in any Act  
“ for taking away the Life or Estate of any that had

The King’s  
Answer.

“ adhered to him. For the Rates which were to be  
 “ paid for Composition, he referred it to the two  
 “ Houses of Parliament, and to the Persons them-  
 “ selves, who would be contented to pay it; and he  
 “ did hope and desire, that they might be moderate-  
 “ ly dealt with. And for the Clergy - Men, whose  
 “ Preferments he well knew were already disposed  
 “ of,” and in the hands of another kind of Clergy,  
 who had deserved so well of the Parliament, that it  
 would not be in his power to dispossess them, his  
 Majesty desired, “ that they might be allowed a third  
 “ part of what was taken from them, till such time  
 “ that they, or the present Incumbents, should be  
 “ better provided for.” As to the Marquis of *Ormond*,  
 against whom they pressed what they had before done  
 with extraordinary Animosity, the King Answered,  
 “ that since what he had said before” (and which  
 would bring all to pass that they desired) “ did not  
 “ give them satisfaction, he had written a Letter”  
 (which he delivered to them to be sent, and read to  
 them) “ in which he directed him to desist; and said,  
 “ if he refused to submit to his Command, he would  
 “ then publish such a Declaration against his power  
 “ and his proceedings, as they desired.”

And now the second limitation of time for the  
 Treaty was at an end. But that Night came another  
 Vote; which continued it for a day longer, with a  
 Command to the Commissioners to return on *Thurs-*  
*day* Morning; which was the eight-and-twentieth of  
*November*: and thereupon they presented two Pro-  
 positions to his Majesty, which were to be des-  
 patched that day.

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Another Pro-  
 longation of  
 the Treaty for  
 a day, where-  
 in they present  
 two Proposi-  
 tions more.

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One concern-  
ing Scotland.

To that the  
King's Answer.

The two Propositions they sent for one day's work, were, the first, concerning *Scotland*; the other, concerning the Church; which they did not think they had yet destroyed enough. For *Scotland*, they demanded "the King's consent, to confirm by Act of Parliament such Agreements as should be made by both Houses with that Kingdom, in the security of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the Parliament of *England*, and for the settling and preserving a happy and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for the mutual defence of each other." The King put them in mind, "that at the beginning of the Treaty they had informed him, that their Commission was only to treat concerning *England*, and *Ireland*; and that they had no Authority to meddle in any thing that related to *Scotland*; and that they had thereupon refused to receive a Paper from him, which was to preserve the Interest of that Kingdom; and demanded of them, whether their Commission was enlarged?" which they confessed "was not; and that they had presented that Paper only in obedience to the Order they had received." So that the King easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish, "that the King had rejected whatsoever was tendered to him on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. To prevent which, he Answered, that as he would join in any Agreement, to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for their mutual defence of each other under him as King of both; so

“ he would secure all who had been formerly en- **B O O K**  
 “ gaged with them ; but for any new Engagement, **XI.**  
 “ or Confederacy, which they would make hereafter,  
 “ he would first know what it was, and be advised  
 “ with in the making it, before he would promise to  
 “ confirm it ” The other business with reference to **The other**  
 the Church gave him much more trouble. The Com- **touching the**  
 missioners pressed him “ to consider the Exigence of **Church.**  
 “ time, and that there was not a whole day left to  
 “ determine the Fate of the Kingdom ; and that no-  
 “ thing could unite the Counsels of those who wished  
 “ and desired Peace, and to live happily under his  
 “ Subjection and obedience, against the bold at-  
 “ tempts of the Army, which had enough declared  
 “ and manifested what their intention was, but satis-  
 “ fying the Houses fully in what they demanded in  
 “ that particular.” His own Council, and the Divines,  
 besought him “ to consider the safety of his own  
 “ Person, even for the Church’s and his People’s  
 “ sakes, who had some hope still left whilst He should  
 “ be preserved, which could not but be attended  
 “ with many Blessings : whereas, if He were des-  
 “ troyed, there was scarce a possibility to preserve  
 “ them : that the moral and unavoidable necessity  
 “ that lay upon him, obliged him to do any thing  
 “ that was not Sin ; and that, upon the most pru-  
 “ dential thoughts which occurred to them, the  
 “ Order which He, with so much Piety and Zeal,  
 “ endeavoured to preserve, was much more like to  
 “ be destroyed by his not complying, than by his  
 “ suspending it till his Majesty and his two Houses  
 “ should agree upon a future Government ; which,  
 “ they said, much differed from an abolition of it.”



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The King's  
Final Answer.

Hereupon he gave them his final Answer, " that  
 " after such condescensions, and weighed resolutions  
 " in the business of the Church, he had expected not  
 " to be farther pressed therein; it being his judgment,  
 " and his conscience. He said, he could not, as he  
 " was then informed, abolish Episcopacy out of the  
 " Church; yet, because he apprehended how fatal  
 " new distractions might be to the Kingdom, and  
 " that he believed his two Houses would yield to  
 " truth, if it were made manifest to them, as he had  
 " always declared that he would comply with their  
 " Demands, if he were convinced in his Conscience,  
 " he did therefore again desire a Consultation with  
 " Divines, in the manner he had before proposed,  
 " and would in the mean time suspend the Episcopal  
 " power, as well in point of Ordination of Ministers,  
 " as of Jurisdiction, till He and the two Houses should  
 " agree what Government should be established for  
 " the future. For Bishops Lands, he could not con-  
 " sent to the absolute alienation of them from the  
 " Church, but would consent that Leases for Lives;  
 " or Years, not exceeding ninety-nine, should be  
 " made for the satisfaction of Purchasers or Contrac-  
 " tors;" little differing from the Answer he had for-  
 " merly given to this last particular: and in all the rest  
 he adhered to his former Answers. And the Commis-  
 sioners, having received this his final Answer, took  
 their leaves, and the next Morning begun their Jour-  
 ney towards *London*.

The King had begun a Letter to the Prince his Son  
 before the first forty days were expired, and con-  
 tinued it, as the Treaty was lengthened, even to the  
 hour

hour it was concluded, and finished it the nine-and-twentieth of *November* after the Commissioners were departed, and with it sent a very exact Copy of all the Papers which had passed in the Treaty, in the order in which they were passed, fairly engrossed by one of the Clerks who attended. But the Letter itself was all in his own hand, and contained above six Sheets of Paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make those Concessions; out of which most of this relation is extracted. And it is almost evident, that the Major part of both Houses of Parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those Concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the Army, they would have been themselves Suitors to have declined the greatest part of them. That which seemed to afflict him most, next what referred to the Church and Religion, and which, he said, "had a large share in his conscientious considerations," was the hard measure his Friends were subjected to; for whose Interest he did verily believe he should better provide in the execution of the Treaty, than he had been able to do in the Preliminaries. For, he said, "he could not but think, that all who were willing that he should continue their King, and to live under his Government, would be far from desiring in the conclusion to leave so foul a Brand upon his Party, of which they would all desire to be accounted for the time to come. However, he hoped that all his Friends would consider, not what he had submitted to, but

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The Sum of  
the King's  
Letter to his  
Son concern-  
ing the whole  
Treaty.

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“ how much he had endeavoured to relieve them from ;” and conjured the Prince his Son , “ that the less he had been able himself to do for them, the more, if God blessed him, He should acknowledge and supply.” He said, “ he would willingly forget in how high degree some Subjects had been disloyal, but never had Prince a Testimony in others of more Loyalty than He had had ; and however that God, for their, and his punishment, had not blessed some of their Endeavours, yet, he said, more misguided Persons were at last reduced to their Loyalty, than could in any story be exempl ed ; and that, by that, Subjects might learn how dangerous the neglect of seasonable duty is ; and that Men cannot easily fix when they please what they have unnecessarily shaken.” The conclusion of the Letter, as it was dated, the five-and-twentieth of *November* (what was added to it after, till the nine-and-twentieth, was but the additional passages upon the enlargement of time ) deserves to be preserved in Letters of Gold, and gives the best Character of that excellent Prince ; and was in these words.

The Conclusion of that Letter in the King's own words.

“ By what hath been said , you see how long We have labored in the search of Peace: do not You be disheartened to tread in the same steps Use all worthy ways to restore yourself to your Right, but prefer the way of Peace: show the greatness of your mind, if God bless you (and let Us comfort you with that which is our own Comfort, that though Affliction may make us pass under the censures of Men , yet We look upon it so, as if it procure not, by God's Mercy, to Us a Deliverance,

“ it will to You a blessing ) rather to conquer your  
 “ Enemies by pardoning , than punishing. If You  
 “ saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable  
 “ disposition is in our ill-Willers , you would avoid  
 “ that Spirit. Censure Us not for having parted with  
 “ so much of our own Right ; the price was great ,  
 “ but the commodity was security to Us , Peace to  
 “ our People : and we were confident, another Par-  
 “ liament would remember how useful a King’s  
 “ power is to a People’s liberty ; of how much there-  
 “ of We divested Ourself , that We and They might  
 “ meet once again in a due Parliamentary way , to  
 “ agree the bounds of Prince and People. And in  
 “ this give belief to our Experience, never to affect  
 “ more Greatness or Prerogative , than that which is  
 “ really and intrinsically for the Good of Subjects,  
 “ not the satisfaction of Favorites. If you thus use  
 “ it , you will never want means to be a Father to  
 “ all , and a bountiful Prince to any you would be  
 “ extraordinary gracious to. You may perceive all  
 “ Men intrust their Treasure where it returns them  
 “ Interest ; and if Princes , like the Sea , receive , and  
 “ repay all the fresh streams the River intrusts with  
 “ them , they will not grudge , but pride themselves  
 “ to make them up an Ocean. These considerations  
 “ may make You as great a Prince , as your Father  
 “ is now a low one ; and Your State may be so much  
 “ the more established , as Mine hath been shaken. For  
 “ our Subjects have learned ( we dare say ) that Vic-  
 “ tories over their Princes are but Triumphs over  
 “ themselves ; and so will be more unwilling to  
 “ hearken to changes hereafter. The *English* Nation



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“ are a sober People, however at present infatuated.  
“ We know not but this may be the last time We  
“ may speak to you, or the World, publicly : We  
“ are sensible into what hands We are fallen ; and  
“ yet, We bless God, We have those inward refresh-  
“ ments the Malice of our Enemies cannot perturb.  
“ We have learned to busy Ourselves by retiring into  
“ Ourselves ; and therefore can the better digest what  
“ befalls Us ; not doubting but God’s Providence  
“ will restrain Our Enemies power, and turn their  
“ Fierceness to his Praise.

“ To conclude, if God gives you Success ; use it  
“ humbly and far from Revenge. If He restore you  
“ to your Right upon hard Conditions, whatever  
“ you promise, keep. These Men, who have forced  
“ Laws which they were bound to preserve, will  
“ find their Triumphs full of Troubles. Do not think  
“ any thing in this World worth the obtaining by  
“ foul and unjust means.

“ You are the Son of our Love, and as We direct  
“ you to weigh what We here recommended to you,  
“ so We assure you, We do not more affectionately  
“ pray for you ( to whom We are a Natural Parent )  
“ than We do, that the ancient Glory and Renown  
“ of this Nation be not buried in Irreligion and Pha-  
“ natic Humor ; and that all our Subjects ( to whom  
“ We are a Politic Parent ) may have such sober  
“ thoughts, as to seek their Peace in the Orthodox pro-  
“ fession of the Christian Religion, as it was establish-  
“ ed since the Reformation in this Kingdom, and  
“ not in new Revelations ; and that the ancient Laws,  
“ with the interpretation according to the known

“ practice, may once again be a hedge about Them,  
 “ that You may in due time govern, and They be  
 “ governed, as in the fear of God; which is the  
 “ prayer of

“ Your very loving Father C. R.”

Newport 25th Nov. 1648.

Whilst the Treaty lasted, it was believed that his Majesty might have made his escape; which most Men who wished him well, thought in all respects ought to have been attempted; and before the Treaty, he himself was inclined to it, thinking any Liberty preferable to the restraint he had endured. But he did receive some discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some Persons in *France* were that he should have made his Escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; without doubt, was not from want of tenderness to his safety, but from the apprehension they had, that the little respect they would have showed him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could suffer by the closest Imprisonment. And sure there was, at that time, no Court in *Christendom* so honorably, or generously constituted, that it would have been glad to have seen him; and it might be some reason that they who wished him very well, did not wish his Escape, because they believed Imprisonment was the worst his worst Enemies intended towards him; since they might that way more reasonably found, and settle their Republican Government; which Men could not so pru-

BOOK XI. dently propose to bring to pass by a Murder; which, in the instant, gave the just Title to another who was at liberty to claim his Right, and to dispute it: I say, before the Treaty, and after the Votes and declarations of no more Addresses, when his Treatment was so barbarous, his Majesty had proposed to himself to make an Escape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but such Persons who were placed by those who wished worst to his Safety; and therefore chose such Instruments as they thought to be of their own Principles. Among those there was a young Man, one *Osborne*, by extraction a Gentleman; who was recommended by the Lord *Wharton* (one who deserved not to be suspected by *Cromwell* himself) to Colonel *Hammond*, to be placed in some near attendance about the King; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitness of the Man, immediately appointed him to wait as Gentleman-Usher; which gave him opportunity to be almost always in the presence of the King. This young Man, after some Months attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the King's Carriage, and the great Affability he used towards those who were always about him, to have a tenderness and loyal Sense of his Sufferings; and did really desire to do him any Service that might be acceptable. By his Office of Gentleman-Usher he usually held the King's Gloves when he was at Meat, and first took that opportunity to put a little Billet, in which he expressed his devotion, into one of the fingers of his Glove. The King was not forward to be credulous of the Professions of a Person he knew so little, and who, he knew, would not be suffered

to be about him, if he were thought to have those Inclinations. However, after longer observation, and sometimes speaking to him whilst he was walking amongst others in the Garden allowed for that purpose, his Majesty begun to believe that there was sincerity in him; and so frequently put some Memorial into the fingers of his Glove, and by the same expedient received advertisement from him.

There was in the Garrison one *Rolph*, a Captain of a Foot-Company, whom *Cromwell* placed there as a prime Confident, a Fellow of a low Extraction, and very ordinary parts; who, from a Common-Soldier had been trusted in all the intrigues of the Army, and was one of the Agitators inspired by *Cromwell* to put any thing into the Soldiers minds, upon whom he had a wonderful Influence, and could not contain himself from speaking maliciously and wickedly against the King, when dissimulation was at the highest amongst the great Officers. This Man grew into great familiarity with *Osborne*, and knowing from what Person he came recommended to that Trust, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and so, according to his custom of reviling the King, he wished "he were out of the World; for they  
" should never make any Settlement whilst he  
" was alive. He said, he was sure the Army wished  
" him dead, and that *Hammond* had received many  
" Letters from the Army to take Him away by Poi-  
" son, or any other way; but he saw it would never  
" be done in that place; and therefore, if he would  
" join with him, they would get Him from thence;"



**B O O K** and then the work would easily be done. *Osborne* asked him, "how it could be possible to remove Him  
**XI.** "from thence, without *Hammond's*, or the King's  
 "own consent?" *Rolph* Answered, "that the King  
 "might be decoyed from thence, as he was from  
 "Hampton Court, by some Letters from his Friends,  
 "of some danger that threatened him, upon which  
 "he would be willing to make an Escape; and then  
 "he might easily be despatched." *Osborne* shortly  
 found an opportunity to inform the King of all this.

An Attempt  
 for the King's  
 Escape.

The King bid him "continue his familiarity with  
 " *Rolph*, and to promise to join with him in contri-  
 "ving how his Majesty should make an Escape;" and  
 he hoped thereby to make *Rolph's* Villany the means of  
 getting away. He recommended one of the Common-  
 Soldiers to *Osborne* "who, he said, he thought might  
 "be trusted;" and wished him "to trust one *Doucet*;"  
 whom the King had known before, and who was  
 then placed to wait upon him at his back-stairs, and  
 was indeed an honest Man; for it was impossible for  
 him to make an Escape, without the privity of such  
 Persons, who might provide for him, when he was  
 got out of the Castle, as well as help him from thence.  
*Osborne* told *Rolph*, "he was confident he should in-  
 "the end persuade the King to attempt an Escape,  
 "though he yet seemed jealous and apprehensive of  
 "being discovered, and taken again." *Doucet* con-  
 curred very willingly in it, and the Soldier who was  
 chosen by the King, proved likewise very honest,  
 and wrought upon one or two of his Companions  
 who used to stand Sentinels at the place where the  
 King intended to get out. All things were provided;

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and the King had a File, and Saw; with which he had, with wonderful trouble, sawed an Iron-Bar in the Window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the Night was appointed, and *Osborne* at the place where he was to receive the King. But one of the Soldiers informed *Rolph* of more particulars than *Osborne* had done, by which he concluded that he was false, and directed the Soldier to proceed, and stand Sentinel in the same place to which he had been assigned; and he, and some others trusted by him, were Armed, and stood very near with their Pistols. At midnight the King came to the Window, resolving to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discerned more Persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the Window, and retired to his Bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse, which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the Window, and could neither draw his Body after, nor get his Head back, and so was compelled to call out for help; which was a mere fiction.

*Rolph* acquainted *Hammond* with what the King had designed; who presently went into his Chamber, and found the King in his Bed, but the Bar of the Window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and presently seized upon *Doucet*, but could not apprehend *Osborne*; who was either fled out of the Island, or concealed in it that he could not be found. *Rolph* could not forbear to insult upon *Doucet* in Prison, and scornfully asked him, “ why his King came not forth when

**B O O K** “ he was at the Window ?” and said, “ he was ready  
**XI.** “ with a good Pistol charged to have received him.”

*Osborne ac-  
 cuses Rolph  
 for a design  
 upon the  
 King's Life.*

When *Osborne* had got into a place of present safety, he writ a Letter to his Patron the Lord *Wharton*, informing him of the whole matter; and desired him, “ to acquaint the House of Peers of the design upon “ the King's Life, and that he would be ready to “ appear and justify the Conspiracy.” That Lord, after he had kept the Letter some time. sent it to *Hammond*, as the fittest Person to examine the truth of the Relation. *Osborne* was not discouraged with all this; but sent two Letters to the Speakers of both Houses, and inclosed the Letter he had formerly writ to the Lord *Wharton*. In the House of Commons the information was slighted, and laid aside; but it made more impresson upon the House of Peers; who sent, with more than ordinary earnestness, to the Commons, “ that *Rolph* might be sent for, and a Safe-guard for forty days to *Osborne* to appear, and “ prosecute.”

*Rolph* brought with him a large Testimonial from *Hammond* of “ his Integrity, and of the many good “ Services he had done to the State.” *Osborne* appeared likewise at the Lords Bar, and made good upon Oath all that is before set down, and undertook to produce other Evidence. The House of Commons had no mind to have it examined farther, but the clamor of the People was so great, that, after many delays, they Voted “ that it should be tried at the “ General Assizes at *Winchester*.” And thither they sent their well tried Serjeant *Wild*, to be the sole Judge of that Circuit; before whom the Major part

of the same Jury that had found Captain *Burly* guilty, was impannelled for the Trial of *Rolph. Osborne*, and *Doucet*, who upon Bail had liberty to be there, appeared to make good the Indictment; and, upon their Oaths, declared all that *Rolph* had said to them, as is set down before. The Prisoner, if he may be called a Prisoner who was under no restraint, had two Lawyers assigned to be of Council with him, contrary to the Law and Custom in those Cases; but he needed not to have had any Council but the Judge himself; who told the Jury, “that it was a business of great importance that was before them; and therefore that they should take heed what they did in it: that there Was a time indeed when Intentions and Words were Treason, but God forbid it should be so now: how did any body know but that those two Men, *Osborne* and *Doucet*, would have made away the King, and that *Rolph* charged his Pistol to preserve him? or, perhaps they would have carried him away to have engaged them in a second War.” He told them, “they were mistaken who did believe the King in Prison; the Parliament did only keep him safe to save the shedding of more Blood.” Upon these good directions, the Grand-Jury found an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill; and this was some little time before the Treaty.

When the Commissioners who had treated with the King at the Isle of *Wight*, were returned to the Parliament, their report took up many days in the House of Commons, where the Resolution was first to be taken; which commonly was final, the Lords rarely presuming to contradict what the others thought

The Commis-  
sioners report  
of the Treaty  
to the Par-  
liament.



## BOOK

## XI.

A long and  
sharp Debate  
upon it.

Sir Henry  
Vane's  
Speech con-  
cerning it.

fit to determine. The Question upon the whole was,  
“ whether the Answer that the King had made to  
“ their Propositions, was satisfactory ? ” which was  
debated with all the Virulence, and Acrimony to-  
wards each other, that can fall from Men so possessed  
as both sides were.

Young Sir *Henry Vane* had begun the Debate with  
the highest Insolence, and Provocation; telling them,  
“ that they should that day know and discover, who  
“ were their Friends, and who were their Foes; or,  
“ that he might speak more plainly, who were the  
“ King's Party in the House, and who were for the  
“ People; ” and so proceeded with his usual grave  
bitterness against the Person of the King, and the  
Government that had been too long Settled: put  
them in mind, “ that they had been diverted from  
“ their old settled Resolution and Declaration, that  
“ they would make no more Addresses to the King;  
“ after which the Kingdom had been governed in  
“ great Peace, and begun to taste the sweet of that  
“ Republican Government which they intended and  
“ begun to establish, when, by a Combination be-  
“ tween the City of *London* and an ill affected Party  
“ in *Scotland*, with some small contemptible Insur-  
“ rections in *England*, all which were fomented by  
“ the City, the Houses had, by clamor and noise,  
“ been induced and compelled to reverse their  
“ former Votes and Resolution, and enter into a  
“ Personal Treaty with the King; with whom they  
“ had not been able to prevail, notwithstanding the  
“ low Condition he was in, to give them any secu-  
“ rity; but he had still reserved a power in himself,

“ or at least to his Posterity, to exercise as Tyran-  
 “ nical a Government as he had done: that all the  
 “ Insurrections, which had so terrified them, were  
 “ now totally subdued; and the principal Authors  
 “ and Abettors of them in their Custody, and ready  
 “ to be brought to Justice, if they pleased to direct,  
 “ and appoint it: that their Enemies in *Scotland* were  
 “ reduced, and that Kingdom entirely devoted to a  
 “ firm and good correspondence with their Brethren,  
 “ the Parliament of *England*; so that there was no-  
 “ thing wanting, but their own Consent and Resolu-  
 “ tion, to make themselves the happiest Nation and  
 “ People in the World; and to that purpose desired,  
 “ that they might, without any more loss of time,  
 “ return to their former Resolution of making no  
 “ more Addresses to the King; but proceed to the  
 “ settling the Government without him, and to the  
 “ severe punishment of those who had disturbed their  
 “ peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner, as  
 “ might terrify all other Men for the future from  
 “ making the like bold attempts: which, he told  
 “ them, they might see would be most grateful to  
 “ their Army, which had merited so much from them  
 “ by the Remonstrance they had so lately published.”

This discourse appeared to be exceedingly disliked,  
 by that kind of Murmur which usually shows how  
 the House stands inclined, and by which Men make  
 their judgments there, of the success that is like to  
 be. And his Preface, and Entrance into the Debate,  
 were taken notice of with equal sharpness; and, “ his  
 “ presumption in taking upon himself to divide the  
 “ House, and to censure their Affections to the

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## XI.

“ Public, as their sense and judgment should agree;  
 “ or disagree with his own.” One said “ that since he  
 “ had, without Example, taken so much upon him,  
 “ he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was assumed  
 “ by other Men; and that it was as lawful for another  
 “ Man, who said he was no gainer by the Troubles,  
 “ to make another Division of the House, and to say,  
 “ that they should find in the Debate of that day,  
 “ that there were some who were desirous of Peace;  
 “ and that They were all losers, or at least, no gainers  
 “ by the War; and that others were against Peace;  
 “ and that They by the War had gained large Re-  
 “ venues, and great Sums of Money, and much  
 “ Wealth; and therefore his Motion was, that the  
 “ Gainers might contribute to the Losers, if they  
 “ would not consent that the one might enjoy what  
 “ was left, and the other possess what they had got,  
 “ by a Peace that might be happy for both.”

The large Re-  
 monstrance  
 of the Army  
 brought to  
 the House by  
 six Officers.

Whilst this was debating in the House, which con-  
 tinued several days, six Officers, from the head-Quar-  
 ters at *Windſor*, whither the Army had been brought  
 before, or at the time when the Treaty ended at the  
 Isle of *Wight*, brought their large Remonstrance to the  
 House; in which they desired, “ that there might be  
 “ no farther proceedings upon the Treaty; but that  
 “ they would return to their former determination of  
 “ no farther Addresses, and make what haste they  
 “ could in settling the Government: that the bar-  
 “ gaining Proposition on the behalf of Delinquents,  
 “ which was only upon a Contract with the King,  
 “ and not in any Judicial way, might be laid aside,  
 “ and that public Justice might be done upon the

“ principal Actors in the late Troubles, and that  
 “ others, upon a true submission, might find Mercy:  
 “ that a peremptory day might be set, when the  
 “ Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York*, should be  
 “ required to appear; which if they should not do,  
 “ they should stand exiled as Traitors; and if they  
 “ should appear, yet they should be bound to make  
 “ some satisfaction: that an end might be put to this  
 “ Parliament, and a new Representative chosen of  
 “ the People, for the governing and preserving the  
 “ whole Body of the Nation. That no King might  
 “ be hereafter admitted but upon Election of the  
 “ People, and as upon trust for the People, who  
 “ should be likewise limited and restrained by the  
 “ Representative,” with many other impracticable  
 Particulars, which troubled the Parliament the less  
 for their incoherence, and impossibility to be reduced  
 into practice.

But that which troubled most, and indeed which  
 awakened them to the most dismal apprehensions,  
 was, that they were advertised, that the King was  
 taken away from *Carisbrooke-Castle* by an Officer of  
 the Army, and carried to *Hurst-Castle*, not far from  
 the other, but Situated on the main Land, and in so  
 vile and unwholesome an Air, that the Common-  
 Guards there used to be frequently changed for the  
 preservation of their health. Colonel *Hammond* had,  
 before the expiration of the Treaty, writ many Let-  
 ters to the Parliament, to be discharged from that  
 Government, and from the care of the King's Person;  
 and the Officers of the Army seemed wonderfully  
 offended with him for making the demand; and he

The King  
 taken from  
 Carisbrooke-  
 Castle and  
 carried to  
 Hurst-Castle;



**B O O K** got himself looked upon as under a Cloud. But the  
**XI.** Treaty was no sooner ended ( and before the Commissioners begun their Report to the Houses ) but he was discharged of the Trust of the Person of the King, and another Colonel sent to take the Person of the King, and to carry him to *Hurst-Castle*.

Vote of the  
House of  
Commons  
thereupon.

This News being brought when they were in the heat of the Debate upon the King's Answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately Voted, " that the  
 " seizing upon the King's Person, and carrying him  
 " Prisoner to *Hurst-Castle*, was without Their advice and consent : " which Vote had little contradiction, because no Man would own the Advice. Then they caused a Letter to be written to the General, " that the Orders and Instructions to Colonel  
 " *Ewre* ( the Officer who had seized the King ) " were  
 " contrary to their Resolutions, and Instructions to  
 " Colonel *Hammond* ; and therefore that it was the  
 " pleasure of the House, that he should recal those  
 " Orders ; and that Colonel *Hammond* should again  
 " resume the care of the King's Person." But the General, without taking any notice of their Complaint, or of their Command, demanded the payment of the Arrears due to the Army ; and told them,  
 " that, unless there were present Money sent to  
 " that purpose, he should be forced to remove the  
 " Army, and to draw them nearer to *London*." And  
 " at the same time a new Declaration was sent to the  
 " House from the Army, in pursuance of their late Remonstrance ; which the House refused to take into consideration ; and some sturdy Members moved,  
 " that the Army might be declared Traitors, if they  
 " presumed

Another  
Declaration of  
the Army sent  
to the House.

“ presumed to march nearer *London* than they were  
 “ at present; and that an impeachment of High-  
 “ Treason might be drawn up against the principal  
 “ Officers of it.” Hereupon, the General marches  
 directly for *London*, and Quarters at *White-Hall*; the  
 other Officers, with their Troops, in *Durham-House*,  
 the *Mews*, *Covent-Garden*, *Westminster*, and *St. James*’;  
 and for the present necessity, that no inconvenience  
 might fall out, they sent to the City without delay to  
 supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately  
 issued out to satisfy the Army. Notwithstanding all  
 which monstrous proceeding, the House of Commons  
 retained its Courage, and were resolute “ to assert  
 “ the Treaty; and that the King’s Answers were satis-  
 “ factory; or if they were not fully satisfactory; that  
 “ the House might, and ought to accept thereof,  
 “ and proceed to the settlement of Peace in Church  
 “ and State, rather than to reject them as unsatis-  
 “ factory, and thereby continue the Kingdom in War  
 “ and Distraction.”

B O O K

XI.

The General  
marches for  
London.

They who vehemently pressed this Conclusion,  
 and would be thought to be for the King, to make  
 themselves popular, took upon them to make all the  
 Invectives both against the King, and all the time of  
 his Government, that his bitterest Enemies could do,  
 only that they might show how much the concessions  
 he had now granted, had provided Remedies for all  
 those Evils, and made all the foundation of their  
 future hope of happiness and peace, to be in the no-  
 power they had left him in: so that if he should have  
 a mind to continue the Distractions to morrow, he  
 would find no Body ready ever to join with him,

BOOK having at this time sacrificed all his Friends to the  
 21 Mercy of their mortal Enemies. In conclusion, and  
 when they had prosecuted the Debate most part of  
 the Night, till almost five of the Clock in the Morning,  
 on Monday Night, they had first put the Question,  
 "whether the Question should be put?" and carried  
 it by a hundred and forty Voices against one hundred  
 and four: the main Question. "That the Answer of  
 the King to the Propositions of both Houses was a  
 ground for the Houses to proceed upon for the  
 settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom," was so  
 clearly Voted, that the House was not divided; and  
 that there might be no after claps, they appointed a  
 Committee "to confer with the General, for the bet-  
 ter procuring a good Intelligence and Correspond-  
 ence between the Army and the Parliament;" and  
 then they Adjourned the House to Wednesday Morn-  
 ing, it being then near the Morning of Tuesday.

The Committee that was appointed to confer with  
 the General, waited that Afternoon upon him in his  
 Lodging at *White-Hall*, that they might be able to give  
 some Account to the House the next Morning. But  
 they were forced to attend full three hours, before  
 they could be admitted to his presence; and then he  
 told them sullenly, and superciliously, "that the way  
 to correspond with the Army, was to comply with  
 their Remonstrance:" and, the next Morning;  
 there was a Guard of Musqueteers placed at the entry  
 into, and door of the House, and the Officers thereof  
 having a List in their hands of the Names of those who  
 should be restrained from going into the House, all  
 Those were stopped, one by one, as they came, and

Vote "that  
 the King's  
 Answer was  
 a ground for  
 Peace."

Many of the  
 Members en-  
 tering into the

sent into the Court of Wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a Guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which there were so many of the same opinion got into the House, through the inadvertency of the Guard, or because they meant only to sequester the most notorious and refractory Persons, that the Debate, upon resuming the same Question, continued very long; several Members who observed the force at the entrance of the House, and saw their Companions not suffered to come in, complained loudly of the Violence and Breach of Privilege, and demanded remedy; but, in vain; the House would take no notice of it. In the conclusion, after a very long Debate, the Major part of those who were present in the House, Voted the Negative to what had been settled in the former Debate, and "that the Answer the King had given " to their Propositions was not satisfactory."

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House seized upon by the Soldiers.

The remaining Members Vote the contrary to former Votes.

Those Gentlemen who for some hours had been restrained in the Court of Wards, were afterwards led in Triumph through *Westminster-Hall* (except some few, who were suffered for affection, or by negligence, to go away) by a strong Guard, to that place under the Exchequer which is commonly called *Hell*; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleased. And here they were kept in one Room, till after twelve of the Clock in the Night: after which hour, in respect of the extreme cold Weather, and the Age of many of the Members, they were carried to several Inns; where they were suffered to lodge as Prisoners, and remained under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they published a



**B O O K** Protestation in Print against the Proceedings of the  
**XI.** House of Commons, declaring "the force and violence that had been used against them:" and then the House, with the remaining Members, having determined what they thought fit, most of the others were at liberty to do what they pleased. No body owned this Act of Violence in the Exclusion of so many Members: there was no Order made for it by the House. *Fairfax* the General knew nothing of it, and the Guards themselves being asked "what Authority they had," gave no other Answer, "but that they had Orders." But afterwards there was a full and clear Order of the House, without taking notice of any exclusion, "that none of them who had not been present that day when the Negative Vote prevailed, should sit any more in the House, before they had first subscribed the same Vote, as agreeable to their judgments; which if they subscribed, they were as well qualified Members as before." Many of these excluded Members, out of Conscience or Indignation, forbore coming any more to the House for many years; some, not before the Revolution; others, sooner or later, returned to their old Seats, that they might not be idle when so much business was to be done.

Vote. "that  
 " those who  
 " were absent  
 " at the Negative  
 " Vote  
 " should sit  
 " no more in  
 " the House."

Vote of no  
 more Addresses  
 renewed.

Then the House renewed their old Votes of no more Addresses, and annulled and made void all those which introduced the Treaty: and that they might find no more such contradiction hereafter, they committed to several Prisons Major-General *Brown* (though he was then Sheriff of *London*) *Sir John Clotworthy*, *Sir William Waller*, Major-General *Massefey*,

and Commissary-General Copley, who were the most active Members in the House of the Presbyterian Party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the Service of the Parliament in their several Stations against the King as any Men of their Rank in the Kingdom, and much more than any Officer of the present Army had then credit to do: of these, *Massey* made his escape, and Transported himself into *Holland*; and there, according to the natural Modesty of that Sect, presented himself to the Prince. with as much confidence (and as a Sufferer for the King his Father) as if he had defended *Colchester*.

The Protestation that the secluded Members had published and caused to be Printed, with the Narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all Acts to be void which from that time had been done in the House of Commons, made a great noise over the Kingdom, and no less incensed those who remained and sat in the House, than it did the Officers of the Army; and therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the House likewise made a Declaration against that Protestation; and declared it, "to be False, Scandalous, and Seditious," and tending to the destruction of the visible and "Fundamental Government of the Kingdom; and to this wonderful Declaration they obtained the concurrence of the small House of Peers, and jointly ordained, "that that Protestation should be suppressed, "and that no Man should presume to sell, or buy, or "to read the same."

When they had in this manner mastered all contradiction and opposition, they begun more directly to

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XI.

The Protestation of the secluded Members

Voted against by both Houses.

Votes of the House of Commons.

BOOK XI. consult what they were to do, as well as what they were Not to do, and to establish some Affirmative conclusions, as they had done Negatives. They were told, "that it was high time to settle some form of Government, under which the Nation was to live: " there had been much Treasure and Blood spent to " recover the liberty of the People, which would be " to no purpose if there were not provision made for " their secure enjoying it; and there would be always " the same attempts made, which had been of late, " to disturb and to destroy the public Peace, if there " were not such exemplary penalties inflicted, as " might terrify all Men, of what condition soever, " from entering upon such desperate Undertakings." They resolved to gratify the Army, by taking a view of a Paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new Government, which was called *the Agreement of the People*, and for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the Agitators had been, by Cromwell's directions, the year before, shot to death, when he found the Parliament was so much offended with it. They declared now, as the most popular thing they could do to please both the People and the Army, " that they would put an end to the Parliament on " the last day of *April* next; and that there should be " a Representative of the Nation, consisting of three " hundred Persons chosen by the People; of which, " for the Term of seven years, no Person who had " adhered to the King, or who should oppose this " Agreement, or not Subscribe thereunto, should be " capable of being chosen to be one, or to have a " voice in the Election; and that, before that time,

“ and before the Dissolution of the present Parlia-  
 “ ment, it would be necessary to bring those signal  
 “ Delinquents, who had lately disturbed the Quiet  
 “ and Peace of the Kingdom, and put it to so great  
 “ an expence of Blood and Treasure, to exemplary  
 “ punishment.” And it was with great impudence  
 very vehemently urged, “ that they ought to begin  
 “ with Him who had been the cause of all the mis-  
 “ ries, and mischiefs, which had befallen the King-  
 “ dom, and whom they had already divested of all  
 “ Power and Authority to govern them for the fu-  
 “ ture; and they had had near two years experience,  
 “ that the Nation might be very happily governed  
 “ without any recourse to him: that they had already  
 “ declared, and the House of Peers had concurred  
 “ with them, that the King had been the cause of all  
 “ the Blood which had been spilt; and therefore, that  
 “ it was fit that such a Man of Blood should be  
 “ brought to Justice, that he might undergo the  
 “ penalty that was due to his Tyranny and Murders:  
 “ that the People expected This at their hands; and  
 “ that having the principal Malefactor in their power,  
 “ he might not escape the punishment that was due  
 “ to him.”

How new and monstrous soever this language and  
 discourse was to all *English* Ears, they found a Major  
 part still to concur with them; so that they appointed  
 a Committee for the present “ to prepare a charge of  
 “ High-Treason against the King. which should con-  
 “ tain the several Crimes, and Misdemeanours of his  
 “ Reign; which being made, they would consider of

A Committee  
 appointed by  
 them to pre-  
 pare a Charge  
 against the  
 King.



B O O K “ the best way and manner of Proceeding, that he  
 XL “ might be brought to Justice.

This manner of proceeding in *England* was so unheard of, that it was very hard for any Body to propose any way to oppose it that might carry with it any hope of success. However, the pain the Prince was in, would not suffer him to rest without making some effort. He knew too well how far the States of *Holland* were from willing that success, and honor to the Crown of *England*, as it had deserved from them, and how much they had always favored the Rebellion; that his own presence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were devising all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believed the way they were now upon in *England*, would be universally odious to all Christians, that no Body of Men would appear to favor it. His Highness therefore wrote to the States-General to desire them “ to give him an Audience the next day; and “ that he would come to the place where they sat;” which he did, being met by the whole Body at the bottom of the Stairs, and conducted into the Room where they sat.

The Prince was attended by four or five of his Council, and when he had said a little to the States of Compliment, he referred them to a paper which Sir William Roswell, the King's Resident there, was to deliver to them. The paper described the ill condition the King his Father was in; and the threats and menaces which his Enemies used to proceed against him in such a manner as must be abominated by all Christians, and which would bring the greatest

the Prince  
 was  
 to the  
 to  
 to  
 to  
 the two  
 places.

reproach and obloquy upon the Protestant Religion, that ever Christianity had undergone: And therefore desired them, “that they would interpose their credit, and authority, in such a manner as they thought fit, with the two Houses at *Westminster*, that, instead of such an unlawful and wicked prosecution, they would enter into Terms of accommodation with his Royal Father; for the observation whereof his Royal Highness would become bound.

The States assured his Highness, “that they were very much afflicted at the condition of the King, and would be glad any interposition of Theirs might be able to relieve him; that they would seriously consider in what manner they might serve him.” And, that day, they resolved to send an extraordinary Ambassador into *England*, who should repair to the Prince of *Wales*, and receive his Instructions to what Friends of the King’s he should resort, and consult with; who, being upon the place, might best inform him to whom to apply himself. And they made choice of *Paw*, the Pensioner of *Holland*, for their Ambassador; who immediately attended the Prince with the Offer of his Service, and many professions of his desire that his Journey might produce some good Effect.

Their Answer.

The Council that was about the Prince, had looked upon *Paw* as a Man that had always favored the Rebellion in *England*, and as much obstructed all Civilities from the States towards the King, as was possible for him to do; and therefore they were very sorry that He was made choice of for Ambassador in such a fatal conjuncture. But the Prince of *Orange* assured

**B O O K** the Prince, "that he had used all his credit to compass  
**XI.** " that Election : that he was the Wisest Man of their  
 " Body ; and that neither He, nor any of the rest,  
 " who had cherished the *English* Rebellion more  
 " than he, ever desired it should prosper to that degree  
 " it had done, as to endanger the changing the Go-  
 " vernment ;" and therefore wished "there might  
 " not appear any distrust of him, but that the Prince  
 " would treat him with confidence, and some of the  
 " Council would confer with him with freedom,  
 " upon any particulars which it would be necessary  
 " for him to be instructed in." But the wisdom of  
 Angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice  
 for such a Negotiation, since the States could not be  
 brought so much to interest themselves, as to use any  
 Menaces to the Parliament, as if they would embark  
 themselves in the quarrel. So that the Council could  
 only wish, "that the Ambassador would confer with  
 " such of the King's Friends who were then at *London*,  
 " and whose relation had been most eminent towards  
 " his Majesty ; and receive advice from them, how  
 " he might most hopefully prevail over particular  
 " Men, and thereby with the Parliament." And so the  
 Ambassador departed for *England*, within less than a  
 week after he was nominated for the Employment.

They send an  
 Ambassador  
 into England.

The Queen  
 sent a Paper to  
 be delivered  
 to the Parlia-  
 ment, but it  
 was laid aside.

At the same time, the Queen of *England*, being  
 struck to the heart with amazement and confusion  
 upon the report of what the Parliament intended, sent  
 a Paper to the Agent who was employed there by the  
 Cardinal to keep a good correspondence ; which she  
 obliged him to deliver to the Parliament. The Paper  
 contained a very passionate lamentation of the sad

condition the King her Husband was in; desiring  
 “ that they would grant her a Pass to come over to  
 “ him, offering to use all the credit she had with him,  
 “ that he might give them satisfaction. However, if  
 “ they would not give her leave to perform any of  
 “ those Offices towards the Public, that she might  
 “ be permitted to perform the Duty she owed Him.  
 “ and to be near him in the uttermost Extremity.”  
 Neither of these Addresses did more than express the  
 Zeal of those who procured them to be made: the  
 Ambassador *Paw* could neither get leave to see the  
 King (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might  
 from himself be instructed best what to do) nor be  
 admitted to an Audience by the Parliament, till after  
 the Tragedy was acted: and the Queen’s Paper was  
 delivered, and never considered in order to return  
 any Answer to it.

When the Committee had prepared such a Charge,  
 which they called “an Impeachment of High-Trea-  
 “ son against *Charles Stewart King of England*,”  
 digested into several Articles, which contained all  
 those Calumnies they had formerly heaped up in  
 that Declaration of no more Addresses to be made to  
 him, with some Additional Reproaches, it was read  
 in the House; and, after it was approved there, they  
 sent it to the House of Peers for Their concurrence,  
 That House had very little to do from the time that  
*Cromwell* returned from *Scotland*, and were few in  
 Number, and used to Adjourn for two or three days  
 together for want of business; so that it was believed,  
 that they who had done so many extravagant things,  
 rather than they would dissent from the House of

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The Charge  
 against the  
 King approv-  
 ed by the  
 Commons.



**B O O K** Commons, would likewise concur with them in This; rather than sever from them when they were so triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this Impeachment was brought up to the Peers, it was so ill received, that there was not one Person who concurred with them; which, considering the Men and what most of them had done, might seem very strange. And when they had, with some warmth rejected it, they Adjourned for a week; presuming they should thereby at least give some interruption to that Career which the House of Commons was upon, and, in that time, some expedient might be found to reconcile the Proceedings in both Houses. But they were as much deceived in this; the House of Commons was very well pleased with it, and thought they had given them ease, which they could not so well have contrived for themselves. So they proceeded in their own Method, and when the day came to which the Lords had Adjourned their House, they found their doors all locked, and fastened with Padlocks, that there should then be no more Entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after sit in that House as Peers above twice or thrice at most, till *Cromwell*, long after, endeavoured in vain to have erected a House of Peers of his own Creation; in which some of them then very willingly took their places.

The Charge and Accusation, upon which they resolved to proceed against the King, being thus settled and agreed upon, they began to consider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be some appearance of Justice. Nothing could be found in the Common or Statute-Law, which could direct or war

Rejected by the Lords; who adjourned for a week.

The Door of their House locked up against the day to which they had adjourned.

rant them; nor could the Precedent of deposing *Richard* the second (the sole Precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpose: for, how foul soever the circumstances precedent had been, he had made a Resignation of his Royalty before the Lords in Parliament; so that his Deposition proceeded from Himself, and with his own Consent, and would not agree in any particular with the case in question. They were therefore to make a new form to warrant their Proceedings: and a new form they did erect. never before heard of. They constituted and erected a Court that should be called "*the High-Court of Justice*, to consist of so many Judges, who should have Authority to try the King, whether he were guilty of what he was accused of, or no; and, in order thereunto, to examine such Witnesses as should be produced:" the Number of the Judges named was about a hundred and fifty, whereof the Major part might proceed.

The Commons constitute a High-Court of Justice.

They could not have found such a number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last Tragical Act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they should make only their own Members to be Judges in this case, they might appear in the Eyes of the People to be too much parties, as, having from the beginning maintained a War, though defensive, as they pretended, against the King, and so not so fit to be the only Judges who were in the fault: on the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpreted that they looked upon it as too dangerous a Province to engage

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themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would discourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they resolved, that the Judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of Members of the House, as of such other of their good and Godly Men in the Kingdom. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of Conscience, or of Fear, utterly protested against it, should take upon him to name another Man; which sure he could not but think was equally unlawful: So that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the province themselves.

All the Chief Officers of the Army were named, and divers accepted the Office; and such Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, as had been most violent against Peace, and some few Country-Gentlemen, whose Zeal had been taken notice of for the Cause, and who were like to take such a Preferment as a testimony of the Parliament's confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a Number of Men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a Speaker, or Prolocutor, who should be called *Lord-President* of that High-Court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the Witnesses all proper Questions, and answer what the Prisoner should propose. And to that Office one *Bradshaw* was chosen, a Lawyer of *Grays-Inn*, not much known in *Westminster-Hall*, though of good practice in his Chamber, and much employed by the Faction. He was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Cheshire*

Bradshaw  
made Lord  
President.

and *Lancashire*, but of a Fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great insolence and ambition. When he was first nominated, he seemed much surpris'd, and very resolute to refuse it; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of abilities to undergo so important a Charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that Apology. And when he was press'd with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he required "time to consider of it;" and said, "he would then give his final Answer;" which he did, the next day; and with great Humility accepted the Office, which he administered with all the pride, impudence, and superciliousness imaginable. He was presently invested in great State, and many Officers, and a Guard assigned for the security of his Person, and the Dean's House at *Westminster* given to him for ever for his residence and habitation, and a good Sum of Money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an Equipage and way of living, as the dignity of the Office which he held would require. And now, the Lord-President of the High-Court of Justice, seemed to be the greatest Magistrate in *England*. And though it was not thought seasonable to make any such Declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into Ordinances, upon several occasions, declared, "that they believed that Office was not to be looked upon as necessary *pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that he who executed it, deserved to have an ample and a liberal Estate conferred

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Lawyers and  
other Officers  
appointed.



B O O K “ upon him for ever: ” which sudden mutation and  
 XI. exaltation of fortune, could not but make a great  
 impression upon a vulgar spirit, accustomed to no  
 Excesses, and acquainted only with a very moderate  
 fortune. All this being done, they made choice of  
 some Lawyers (till that time very obscure, and Men  
 scarce known or heard of in their profession) to per-  
 form the Offices of Attorney-General, and Solicitor  
 General for the State, to prosecute the Prisoner at  
 his Trial, and to manage the Evidence against him.  
 Other Officers, of all kinds, were appointed to at-  
 tend, and perform the several Offices of their new  
 Court; which was ordered to be erected in *Westmin-  
 ster-Hall*.

The King  
 sent for from  
*Hurst-Castle*  
 by *Harrison*.  
 The Cha-  
 racter of  
*Harrison*.

The King was now sent for from *Hurst-Castle*, and  
 was received by Colonel *Harrison* with a strong Party  
 of Horse; by whom he was to be conducted to  
*Windsor-Castle*. *Harrison* was the Son of a Butcher  
 near *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*, and had been bred up in  
 the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good Account  
 in those parts; which kind of Education introduces  
 Men into the language and practice of Business, and,  
 if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the Per-  
 son, inclines young Men to more pride than any  
 other kind of breeding; and disposes them to be prag-  
 matical and insolent, though they have the Skill to  
 conceal it from their Masters, except they find them  
 (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When  
 the Rebellion first began, this Man quitted his Master  
 (who had relation to the King's Service, and dis-  
 charged his Duty faithfully) and put himself into the  
 Parliament-Army, where, having first obtained the  
 Office

Office of a Cornet, he got up, by diligence and sobriety, to the State of a Captain, without any signal notice taken of him till the new-model of the Army; when *Cromwell*, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his Service, much given to Prayer and to Preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his Clerkship contributed very much: and then he was preferred very fast; so that, by the time the King was brought to the Army, he had been a Colonel of Horse, and looked upon as inferior to few, after *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, in the Council of Officers, and in the Government of the Agitators; and there were few Men with whom *Cromwell* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the Conduct of any thing committed to him. He received the King with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any Address; answering questions in short and few words, and when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the King had some thought of making an Escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at *Windfor*, and so to pass by *Bagshot*, the King expressed a desire to see his little Park at *Bagshot*, and so to dine at the Lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the Lord *Newburgh*, who had lately Married the Lady *Aubigny*, lived there; and said, "he would send a Servant to let that Lady know that he would dine with her, that she might provide a dinner for

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"him." *Harrison* well knew the Affection of that Lord and Lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the King so fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by absolutely refusing him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his Majesty should send a Servant; which he did the Night before he intended to dine there.

Both Lord and Lady were of known Duty and Affection to the King; the Lady, after her Husband the Lord *Aubigny* had been killed at *Edge-hill*, having so far incensed the Parliament, that she had endured a long Imprisonment, under a suspicion that she had been privy to the design which had been discovered by Mr. *Waller*, upon which *Tomkins* and *Chaloner* had been put to death, and had likewise herself been put to death, if she had not made her Escape to *Oxford*. After the War was ended, she had, with the King's approbation, married the Lord *Newburgh*; who had the same Affections. They had, from the time of the King's being at *Hampton-Court*, concerted with his Majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the Letters which passed between the King and the Queen, passed through their hands; who had likewise a Cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of Importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from *Hurst-Castle*, and advised him "to find some way, that he might dine at the Lodge at *Bagshot*; and that he should take occa-

“ fion, if he could, to lame the Horfe he rode upon, B O O K  
 “ or to find fuch fault with his going, that he might XL.  
 “ take another Horfe out of the Lord *Newburgh's*  
 “ Stables to continue the reft of his Journey upon.”

That Lord much delighted in Horfes, and had, at that time, in his Stables one of the fleeteft that was in *England*; and the purpofe was, to mount the King upon that Horfe, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the fudden, fet Spurs to him; and if he could get out of the Company that encompassed him, he might, poffibly, by the fwiftness of his Horfe, and his own fkill in the moft obfcure ways of that Foreft, convey himfelf to another place in their view; and fo, three or four good Horfes were laid in feveral places. And this was the reafon that the King had fo earneftly infifted upon dining at *Bug/hot*; which being in his way, and his cuftom being always to dine, they could not reasonably deny him that liberty.

Before the King came thither, *Harrifon* had fent fome Horfe with an Officer to fearch the Houfe, and all about the Park, that he might be fure that no Company lurked, which might make fome attempt. And the King, all the Morning, found fault with the going of his Horfe; and faid, “ he would change it, “ and procure a better.” When his Majefty came to the Lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly informed, “ that the Horfe fo much depend- “ ed upon, was, the day before, by the blow of “ another Horfe, fo lamed, that he could not be of “ ufe to the purpofe he was defigned for.” And though that Lord had other good Horfes, which in

The King  
 dines at the  
 Lord New-  
 burgh's;  
 where was an  
 intention of  
 making the  
 King's  
 Escape, but  
 in vain.



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such an exigent might be made use of, yet the King had observed so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his Journey, when he was encompassed always in the middle of a hundred Horse, the Officers all exceedingly well Horsed, and every Man, Officer, and Soldier, having a Pistol ready spanned in one hand, that he resolved not to pursue that design. And *Harrison* had already told him, "that he had provided a better Horse for him:" and it was believed he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the Lord *Newburgh's*. So that after having spent three or four hours there, with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not suffered to be in any Room without the Company of six or seven Soldiers, who suffered little to be spoken, except it was so loud that They could hear it too, he took a sad farewell of them, appearing to have little hope ever to see them again. The Lord *Newburgh* rode some miles in the Forest to wait upon the King, till he was required by *Harrison* to return. His Majesty lodged that night at his Castle of *Windsor*, and was soon after carried to *St. James'*. In this Journey, *Harrison* observing that the King had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to Murder him, and had once let fall some words of "the odiousness and wickedness of such an Assassination and Murder, which could never be safe to the Person who undertook it;" he told him plainly, "that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the Parliament had too much Honor and Justice to cherish so foul an intention;" and assured Him, "that whatever the Parliament

The King  
brought to  
*St. James'*.

\* resolved to do, would be very Public, and in a way B O O K  
 “ of Justice; to which the World should be Witness; XI.  
 “ and would never endure a thought of secret Vio-  
 “ lence:” which his Majesty could not persuade  
 himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst  
 ever produce him in the sight of the People, under  
 any form whatsoever of a public Trial.

It hath been acknowledged since by some Officers, The several Consultations before and after this time among the Officers what to do with the King:  
 and others who were present at the Consultations, that from the time of the King’s being at *Hampton-Court*, and after the Army had mastered both the Parliament and the City, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret Consults what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, “ they  
 “ should never be able to settle their new form of  
 “ Government, whilst He lived: and after he was  
 become a Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, they were  
 more solicitous for a Resolution and Determination  
 in that particular: and after the Vote of no more  
 Addresses, the most violent Party thought “ they  
 could do nothing in order to their own ends, till He  
 “ should be first dead; and therefore, one way or  
 “ other, that was to be compassed in the first place.”  
 Some were for “ an actual Deposing him; which  
 “ could not but be easily brought to pass, since the  
 “ Parliament would Vote any thing they should be  
 “ directed: Others were for the taking away his Life  
 “ by Poison;” which would make least noise; or,  
 “ if that could not be so easily contrived, by Assassi-  
 “ nation; for which there were hands enough ready  
 “ to be employed.” There was a Third sort, as

B O O K violent as either of the other, who pressed "to have  
 XI. "him brought to a public Trial as a Malefactor;" which, they said, "would be most for the Honor of the Parliament, and would teach all Kings to know, that they were accountable, and punishable for the wickedness of their Lives."

Many of the Officers were of the first opinion, "as a thing they had Precedents for; and that he being once Deposed, they could better settle the Government than if he were dead; for his Son could pretend no Right whilst He was alive; whereas, if the Father were dead, he would presently call himself King, and others would call him so too; and, it may be, other Kings and Princes would own him for such. If he were kept alive in a close Prison, he might afterwards be made use of, or removed upon any appearance of a Revolution."

There were as many Officers of the second Judgement, "that he should be presently despatched." They said, "it appeared by the experience they had, that whilst He was alive (for a more strict Imprisonment than he had undergone, he could never be confined to) there would be always Plots and Designs to set him at Liberty; and he would have Parties throughout the Kingdom; and, in a short time, a Faction in their most secret Councils, and it may be in the Army itself; and, where his Liberty would yield so great a Price, it would be too great a Trust to repose in any Man, that he would long resist the Temptation. Whereas, if he were confessedly dead, all those fears would be over; especially if they proceeded with that circumspec-

“ tion and severity towards all his Party , as in pru- B O O K  
 “ dence they ought to do.” This Party might pro- XI.  
 bably have carried it, if *Hammond* could have been  
 wrought upon to have concurred; but he had yet too  
 much Conscience to expose himself to that Infamy;  
 and without His privity or connivance it could not  
 be done.

The third Party, which were all the Levellers and  
 Agitators of the Army, in the head of which *Ireton*  
 and *Harrison* were, would not endure either of the  
 other ways; and said, “ they could as easily bring  
 “ him to Justice in the sight of the Sun , as Depose  
 “ him; since the Authority of the Parliament could  
 “ do one as well as the other: That their Precedent  
 “ of Deposing, had no reputation with the People;  
 “ but was looked upon as the effect of some potent  
 “ Faction, which always oppressed the People more  
 “ after, than they had been before. Besides, those  
 “ Deposings had always been attended with Assassi-  
 “ nations and Murders, which were the more odious  
 “ and detested, because no body owned and avowed  
 “ the bloody Actions they had done. But if he were  
 “ brought to a public Trial, for the notorious ill  
 “ things he had done, and for his Misgovernment,  
 “ upon the complaint and prosecution of the People,  
 “ the Superiority of the People would be hereby vin-  
 “ dicated and made manifest; and They should re-  
 “ ceive the benefit, and be for ever free from those  
 “ oppressions which he had imposed upon them,  
 “ and for which he ought to pay so dear; and such  
 “ an exemplary Proceeding and Execution as This,  
 “ where every circumstance should be clear and no-



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Concluded to  
have him  
publicly  
tried.

“ torious, would be the best foundation and security  
“ of the Government they intended to establish; and  
“ no Man would be Ambitious to succeed Him: and  
“ be a King in his place, when he saw in what manner  
“ he must be accountable to the People.” This Argu-  
mentation, or the strength and obstinacy of that  
Party, carried it: and, hereupon, all that formality of  
proceeding, which afterwards was exercised, was  
resolved upon and consented to.

Whether the incredibility, or monstrousness of  
such a kind of proceeding, wrought upon the minds  
of Men: or whether the principal Actors took pains,  
by their Insinuations, to have it so believed, it fell  
out however that they among them who wished the  
King best, and stood nearest to the Stage where these  
parts were acted, did not believe that there were  
those Horrid Intentions that shortly after appeared.  
The Preachers, who had sounded the Trumpets loud-  
est to, and throughout the War, Preached now as  
furiously against all wicked Attempts and Violence  
against the Person of the King, and foolishly urged  
the obligation of the Covenant (by which they had  
involved him in all the danger he was in) for the secu-  
rity of his Person.

As soon as the Prince heard of the King's being  
carried by *Harrison* to *Windfor*, and from thence to  
*St. James's*, though he had lately sent a Servant on  
purpose to see his Majesty, and to bring him an Ac-  
count of the State he was in, which Servant was not  
permitted to see him, he sent now another with a  
Letter to *Fairfax* and the Council of War (for he knew  
the Parliament had no Authority) in which he told

The Prince  
send a Letter  
to *Fairfax* and

them, " that he had no other means to be informed  
 " of the health and condition of the King his Royal  
 " Father, but by the Common-Prints, and general  
 " Intelligences that arrived in those Parts: He had  
 " reason by those to believe, that after the expiration  
 " of the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight* (where he hoped  
 " the foundation for a happy Peace had been laid) his  
 " Majesty had been carried to *Hurst*-Castle; and  
 " since, by some Officers of the Army, to *Windſor*,  
 " not without purpose of a more violent prosecution;  
 " the rumor whereof, though of so monstrous and  
 " incredible a Nature, had called upon his Piety to  
 " make this Address to them; who had at this time  
 " the power to chuse, whether they would raise last-  
 " ing Monuments to themselves of Loyalty and  
 " Piety, by restoring their Sovereign to his just  
 " Rights, and their Country to Peace and Happiness,  
 " a Glory which had been seldom absolutely vouch-  
 " safed to so small a number of Men, or to make  
 " themselves the Authors of endless Misery to the  
 " Kingdom, by contributing or consenting to an Act  
 " which all Christians, into how different opinions  
 " soever divided, must abhor as the most inconsis-  
 " ent with the Elements of any Religion, and de-  
 " structive to the Security and being of any kind of  
 " Government: He did therefore earnestly desire and  
 " conjure them, sadly to consider the vast and pro-  
 " digious disproportion in that Election; and then,  
 " he said, " he could not doubt but that they would  
 " chuse to do that which is most Just, Safe, and Ho-  
 " norable for them to do; make themselves the bleſt  
 " Instrument to Preserve, Defend, and Restore their

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XI.

the Council  
of War:

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Which was  
read in the  
Council of  
war, and  
laid aside.

The usage of  
the King at  
St. James'.

He is brought  
to West-  
minster-Hall.  
Jan. 20.

“ King ; to whom only their Allegiance was due; by  
“ which every one of them might justly promise to  
“ themselves peace of Conscience, the singular good  
“ Will and Favor of his Majesty, the ample thanks  
“ and acknowledgment of all good Men, and the  
“ particular and unalterable Affection of the Prince  
“ himself.” This Letter was, with much ado, deli-  
vered into the hands of *Fairfax* himself; but the Mes-  
senger could never be admitted to speak with him;  
nor was there more known, than that it was read in  
the Council of War, and laid aside.

From the time of the King's being come to St.  
*James'*, when he was delivered into the hands and  
custody of Colonel *Tomlinson*, a Colonel of Foot,  
though the Officer seemed to be a Man of a better  
breeding, and of a Nature more Civil than *Harrison*,  
and pretended to pay much Respect and Duty to the  
King in his outward Demeanour, yet his Majesty,  
after a short time, was treated with more Rudeness  
and Barbarity than he had ever been before. They  
were so jealous of their own Guards, lest they should  
be wrought upon by the influence of this Innocent  
Prince, or by the remorse of their own Conscience  
upon the exercise of so much Barbarity, that they  
caused the Guards to be still changed; and the same  
Men were never suffered twice to perform the same  
monstrous Duty.

When He was first brought to *Westminster-Hall*,  
which was upon the twentieth of *January*, before  
their *High-Court of Justice*, he looked upon them, and  
sat down, without any manifestation of trouble,  
never stirring his Hat; all the impudent Judges sitting

covered, and fixing their Eyes upon him, without the least show of respect. The odious Libel, which they called a Charge and Impeachment, was then read by the Clerk; which, in effect, contained, “ that he had been admitted King of *England*, and “ trusted with a limited Power to Govern according “ to Law; and, by his Oath and Office, was obliged “ to use the Power committed to him for the good “ and benefit of the People; but that he had, out of “ a wicked design to erect to himself an Illimited and “ Tyrannical Power, and to overthrow the Rights “ and Liberties of the People, Traitorously levied “ War against the present Parliament, and the Peo- “ ple therein represented.” And then it mentioned his first appearance at *York* with a Guard, then his being at *Beverley*, then his setting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, the day of the Month and the Year in which the Battle had been at *Edge-hill*, and all the other several Battles which had been fought in his Presence; “ in which,” it said, “ He had caused “ and procured many thousands of the Free-born “ People of the Nation to be slain: that after all his “ Forces had been defeated, and Himself become a “ Prisoner, he had, in that very year, caused many “ Insurrections to be made in *England*, and given a “ Commission to the Prince his Son to raise a new “ War against the Parliament; whereby many who “ were in their Service, and trusted by them, had “ revolted, broken their Trust, and betook them- “ selves to the Service of the Prince against the Par- “ liament and the People: that he had been the Au- “ thor and Contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and

B O O K

XI.

The Sum of  
his Charge.



B O O K “ bloody Wars; and was therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, and Spoils, XI. “ Defolations, Damage, and Mischief to the Nation, “ which had been committed in the said War, or “ been occasioned thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the said Treasons and Crimes, “ on the behalf of the People of *England*, as a Tyrant, Traitor, and Murderer, and a public implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*.” And it was prayed, “ that he might be put to Answer “ to all the particulars, to the end that such an Examination, Trial, and Judgment, might be had “ thereupon, as should be agreeable to Justice.”

What passed  
the first day  
of his Trial.

Which being read, their President *Bradshaw*, after he had insolently reprehended the King “ for not “ having showed more respect to that High Tribunal,” told him, “ that the Parliament of *England* “ had appointed that Court to try him for the several “ Treasons, and Misdemeanours, which he had committed against the Kingdom during the evil Administration of his Government; and that, upon the “ Examination thereof, Justice might be done. And, after a great sauciness and impudence of talk, he asked the King, “ what Answer he had to make to that “ Impeachment.”

The King, without any alteration in his Countenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, “ he would first know of them, by what Authority “ they presumed by force to bring him before them; “ and who gave them power to judge of his Actions, “ for which he was accountable to none but God, “ though they had been always such as he need not

“ be ashamed to own them before all the world. He  
 “ told them, that He was their King, They his Sub-  
 “ jects; who owed him Duty and Obedience: that  
 “ no Parliament had Authority to call him before  
 “ them; but that They were not the Parliament, nor  
 “ had any Authority from Parliament to sit in that  
 “ manner: That of all the Persons who sat there, and  
 “ took upon them to judge him, except those Persons  
 “ who being Officers of the Army he could not  
 “ but know whilst he was forced to be amongst them,  
 “ there were only two Faces which he had ever seen  
 “ before, or whose names were known to him. And,  
 after urging “ their Duty, that was due to him, and  
 “ his Superiority over them,” by such lively Reasons,  
 and Arguments, as were not capable of any Answer,  
 he concluded, “ that he would not so much betray  
 “ himself, and his Royal Dignity, as to Answer any  
 “ thing they objected against him, which were to  
 “ acknowledge their Authority; though he believed  
 “ that every one of Themselves, as well as the Spec-  
 “ tators, did, in their own Consciences, absolve  
 “ him from all the Material things which were ob-  
 “ jected against him.”

*Bradshaw* advised him. in a very arrogant manner,  
 “ not to deceive himself with an opinion that any  
 “ thing he had said would do him any good: that the  
 “ Parliament knew their own Authority, and would  
 “ not suffer it to be called in question or debated:”  
 therefore required him, “ to think better of it, against  
 “ he should be next brought thither, and that he  
 “ would Answer directly to his Charge; otherwise,  
 “ he could not be so ignorant, as not to know what

B O O K “ Judgment the Law pronounced against those who  
 XI. “ stood Mute , and obstinately refused to plead ” So  
 the Guard carried his Majesty back to St. *James*’;  
 where they treated him as before.

Disturbance in  
 the Court by  
 the Lady Fair-  
 fax the Gene-  
 ral’s wife.

There was an accident happened that first day,  
 which may be fit to be remembered. When all those  
 who were Commissioners had taken their places, and  
 the King was brought in, the first ceremony was, to  
 read their Commission ; which was the Ordinance of  
 Parliament for the Trial ; and then the Judges were  
 all called, every Man answering to his name as he was  
 called, and the President being first called and making  
 Answer, the next who was called being the General,  
 Lord *Fairfax*, and no Answer being made, the Officer  
 called him the second time, when there was a voice  
 heard that said, “ he had more Wit than to be there ;”  
 which put the Court into some disorder , and some  
 body asking, who it was, there was no other Answer  
 but a little murmuring. But, presently, when the Impe-  
 achment was read, and that expression used, of “ All  
 “ the good People of *England*,” the same voice in a  
 louder tone , Answered , “ No, nor the hundredth  
 “ part of them :” upon which , one of the Officers  
 bid the Soldiers give fire into that Box whence those  
 presumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly  
 discerned that it was the General’s Wife, the Lady  
*Fairfax*, who had uttered both those sharp sayings ;  
 who was presently persuaded or forced to leave the  
 place, to prevent any new disorder. She was of a  
 very noble Extraction, one of the Daughters and  
 Heirs of *Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury* ; who , having  
 been bred in *Holland*, had not that reverence for the

Church of *England*, as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurred in her Husband's entering into Rebellion, never imagining what misery it would bring upon the Kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any Body could do, and did all she could to hinder her Husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever sit in that bloody Court, though he was throughout overwitted by *Cromwell*, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected.

As there was in many Persons present at that woeful Spectacle a real Duty and Compassion for the King, so there was in others so barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him Tyrant, and Murderer; and one spit in his Face; which his Majesty, without expressing any trouble, wiped off with his Handkerchief.

The two Men who were only known to the King before the Troubles, were Sir *Harry Mildmay*, Master of the King's Jewel-House, who had been bred up in the Court, being younger Brother of a good Family in *Essex*, and who had been prosecuted with so great Favors and Bounties by King *James*, and by his Majesty, that he was raised by them to a great Estate, and preferred to that Office in his House, which is the best under those which entitle the Officers to be of the privy-Council. No Man more obsequious to the Court than He, whilst it flourished; a great flatterer of all Persons in Authority, and a Spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the Parliament, he concurred with those who were most violent against the Court, and most like to prevail against it; and

B O O K

XI.

Sir H. Mildmay  
and Sir John  
Danvers the  
only two Per-  
sons the King  
knew besides  
the Officers of  
the Army.



**B O O K** being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that  
**XI.** brand commonly makes Men most impudent, he continued his desperate pace with them, till he became one of the Murderers of his Master. The other was Sir *John Danvers*, the younger Brother and Heir of the Earl of *Danby*, who was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his Brother, and having, by a vain Expence in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak Man, between being seduced and a Seducer, became so far involved in their Counsels that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst Offices, taking it to be a high honor to sit upon the same Bench with *Cromwell*, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that Party of Miscreants, look upon any two Men in the Kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon *Danvers*, and *Mildmay*.

A Summary  
 passing over  
 the rest of the  
 King's Trial.

The several unheard of insolencies which this excellent Prince was forced to submit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious Judicatory, his Majestic behaviour, and resolute insisting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifest Authorities in the Law, as well as by the clearest deductions from Reason, the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent Person in the world, the Execution of that Sentence by the most execrable Murder that was ever committed since that of our Blessed Saviour; and the circumstances thereof; the Application and Interposition that was used by some noble Persons to prevent that woeful Murder, and the hypocrisy with which that interposition was eluded, the

the Saint-like behaviour of that Blessed Martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars so well known, and have been so much enlarged upon in a Treatise peculiarly writ to that purpose, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the Reader, and make the Relation itself odious as well as needless; and therefore no more shall be said here of that deplorable Tragedy, so much to the dishonor of the Nation, and the Religion professed in it, though undeservedly.

But it will not be unnecessary to add a short Character of his Person, that Posterity may know the inestimable loss which the Nation then underwent, in being deprived of a Prince whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners, and piety of the Nation, than the most strict Laws can have. To speak first of his private Qualifications as a Man, before the mention of his Princely and Royal Virtues; He was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an Honest Man; so great a lover of Justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful Action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of Nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Land represented to him the damage and insecurity to the Public, that flowed from such his Indulgence. And then he restrained himself from pardoning either Murders, or Highway-Robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a wonderful Reformation of those Enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his

B O O K  
XI.

His Character.

His Justice and  
Mercy.

## BOOK

## XI.

His Devotion  
and Religion.

Devotions; he was never known to enter upon his Recreations or Sports, though never so early in the Morning, before he had been at Public Prayers; so that on Hunting-days his Chaplains were bound to a very early Attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private Cabinet-Devotions; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could never endure any light or prophane word, with what sharpness of Wit soever it was covered; and though he was well pleased, and delighted with reading Verses made upon any occasion, no Man durst bring before him any thing that was prophane or unclean. That kind of Wit had never any Countenance then.

His Conjugal  
Chastity.

He was so great an Example of Conjugal Affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular, durst not brag of their Liberty; and he did not only permit, but direct his Bishops, to prosecute those scandalous Vices, in the Ecclesiastical Courts, against Persons of eminence, and near Relation to his Service.

He was not  
very bountiful.

His Kingly Virtues had some mixture and allay, that hindered them from shining in full Lustre, and from producing those Fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his Nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the Duke of *Buckingham's* death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept State to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no Man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw, and observed Men long, before he

He kept State  
in his Court.

received them about his Person; and did not love **B O O K**  
 Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a patient **XI.**  
 hearer of Causes; which he frequently accustomed **Patient in**  
 himself to at the Council-Board; and judged very **hearing**  
 well, and was dexterous in the mediating part: so **Causes.**  
 that he often put an end to Causes by persuasion,  
 which the stubbornness of Men's humors made dilatory  
 in Courts of Justice.

He was very fearless in his Person; but, in his riper **Fearless, not**  
 years, not very Enterprising. He had an excellent **Enterprising**  
 understanding, but was not confident enough of it; **Not confident**  
 which made him often times change his own opinion **in his own**  
 for a worse, and follow the advice of Men that did **judgment.**  
 not judge so well as himself. This made him more  
 irresolute than the conjuncture of his Affairs would  
 admit: if he had been of a rougher and more impe-  
 rious Nature, he would have found more respect and  
 duty. And his not applying some severe cures to ap-  
 proaching Evils, proceeded from the Lenity of his  
 Nature, and the tenderness of his Conscience; which,  
 in all cases of Blood, made him chuse the softer way,  
 and not hearken to severe Counsels, how reasonably  
 soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing  
 his advantage in the first *Scottish* Expedition, when,  
 humanly speaking, he might have reduced that Nation  
 to the most entire obedience that could have been  
 wished. But no Man can say he had then many who  
 advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful  
 indisposition all his Council had to the War, or any  
 other Fatigue. He was always a great Lover of the **Lover of the**  
*Scottish* Nation, having not only been born there, but **Scottish Na-**  
 educated by that People, and besieged by them **tion.**



**B O O K** always, having few *English* about him till he was  
**XI.** King; and the major number of his Servants being still  
 of that Nation, who he thought could never fail him.  
 And among these, no Man had such an Ascendant  
 over him, by the humblest insinuations, as Duke  
*Hamilton* had.

Abhorred  
 Debauchery.

As he excelled in all other Virtues, so in Temper-  
 ance he was so strict, that he abhorred all Debauchery  
 to that degree, that, at a great Festival Solemnity,  
 where he once was, when very many of the Nobility  
 of the *English* and *Scots* were entertained, being told  
 by one who withdrew from thence, what vast  
 draughts of Wine they drank, and "that there was  
 " one Earl, who had drank most of the rest down,  
 " and was not himself moved or altered," the King  
 said, "that he deserved to be hanged;" and that Earl  
 coming shortly after into the Room where his Ma-  
 jesty was, in some gayety, to show how unhurt he  
 was from that Battle, the King sent one to bid him  
 withdraw from his Majesty's Presence; nor did he in  
 some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous Circumstances contributed to  
 his Ruin, that Men might well think that Heaven  
 and Earth conspired it. Though he was, from the first  
 Declension of his Power, so much betrayed by his  
 own Servants, that there were very few who remained  
 faithful to him, yet that Treachery proceeded not  
 always from any Treasonable purpose to do Him any  
 harm, but from particular, and personal Animosities  
 against other Men. And, afterwards, the terror all  
 Men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they  
 were conscious of themselves, made them watch all

opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became Spies upon their Master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the Destruction of their Master. And after all this, when a Man might reasonably believe that less than a universal Defection of three Nations, could not have reduced a great King to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly Murdered in the sight of the Sun, he had as great a share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predecessors had ever been. To conclude, He was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master, the best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father, and the best Christian, that the Age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the greatest King, if he were without some Parts and Qualities which have made some Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his Virtues and Endowments, and so much without any kind of Vice.

This unparalleled Murder and Parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of *January*, in the Year, according to the Account used in *England*, 1648, in the forty-and-ninth year of his Age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great Vigor of Body, that when his Murderers caused him to be opened (which they did; and were some of them present at it with great curiosity) they confessed, and declared,

B O O K  
XI.

Beloved by his  
Subjects in  
general when  
he was Mur-  
dered.  
The Sum of  
his Character:

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XI.

“ that no Man had ever all his vital parts so perfect  
 “ and unhurt : and that he seemed to be of so admi-  
 “ rable a composition and constitution, that he would  
 “ probably have lived as long as nature could subsist.”

His Funeral.

His Body was immediately carried into a Room at *White-Hall*; where he was exposed for many days to the public view, that all Men might know that he was not alive. And he was then embalmed, and put into a Coffin, and so carried to *St. James'*; where he likewise remained several days. They who were qualified to order his Funeral, declared, “ that he should  
 “ be buried at *Windfor* in a decent manner, provided  
 “ that the whole Expence should not exceed five hun-  
 “ dred pounds.” The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, who had been of his Bed-Chamber, and always very faithful to him, desired those that governed, “ that  
 “ they might have leave to perform the last duty to  
 “ their dead Master, and to wait upon him to his  
 “ Grave;” which, after some pauses, they were permitted to do, with this restriction, “ that they should  
 “ not attend the Corpse out of the Town; since they  
 “ resolved it should be privately carried to *Windfor*  
 “ without Pomp or noise, and then they should have  
 “ timely notice, that if they pleased, they might be  
 “ at his Interment.” And accordingly it was committed to four of those Servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his Imprisonment, that they should convey the Body to *Windfor*; which they did. And it was, that Night, placed in that Chamber which had usually been his Bed-Chamber : the next Morning, it was carried into the

great Hall ; where it remained till the Lords came ; who arrived there in the Afternoon, and immediately went to Colonel *Whitchcot*, the Governor of the Castle, and showed the Order they had from the Parliament to be present at the Burial ; which he admitted ; but when they desired that his Majesty might be Buried according to the Form of the Common-Prayer-Book, the Bishop of *London* being present with them to Officiate, he positively and roughly refused to consent to it ; and said, “ it was not Law-ful ; that the Common-Prayer-Book was put down, “ and he would not suffer it to be used in that Garri-son where He Commanded ;” nor could all the Reasons, Persuasions, and Intreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the Church, to make choice of a place for Burial. But when they entered into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all Inscriptions, and those Land-Marks pulled down, by which all Men knew every particular place in That Church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were : nor was there one old Officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our Princes had used to be interred. At last there was a Fellow of the Town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, “ there was a “ Vault, in which King *Harry* the Eighth and Queen “ *Jane Seymour* were interred.” As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the Grave to be made. There the King’s Body was laid without any words, or other Ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the Coffin was a plate of



BOOK Silver fixt with these words only, *King Charles* 1648.

XI. When the Coffin was put in, the black Velvet Pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the Earth thrown in; which the Governor stayed to see perfectly done. and then took the Keys of the Church.

I have been the longer, and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humors and fancies of Men, they who were in nearest Credit and Trust about the King, underwent many very severe Censures and Reproaches. not without reflection upon the King himself. Upon the Return of *King Charles* the Second with so much Congratulation, and universal Joy of the People, above ten Years after the Murder of his Father, it was generally expected that the Body should be removed from that obscure Burial, and, with such Ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his Royal Ancestors in *King Henry* the Seventh's Chapel in the Collegiate-Church of *Westminster*. And the King himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferred till some Circumstances and Ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of State, the ground whereof several Men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those Reproaches upon the Statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations, did not satisfy their understanding. For the

satisfaction and information of all Men, I chuse in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The Duke of *Richmond* was dead before the King returned; the Marquis of *Hertford* died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his Lodging after his Majesty came to *White-Hall*: the Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Lindsey* went to *Windfor*, and took with them such of their own Servants as had attended them in that Service, and as many others as they remembered had been then present, and were still alive; who all amounted to a small Number; there being, at the time of the Interment, great strictness used in admitting any to be present whose Names were not included in the Order which the Lords had brought. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observed to be in that Church, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards Decency, so totally perplexed their Memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place, or part of the Church the Royal Body was Interred: Yet, where any concurred upon this, or that place, they caused the ground to be opened at a good distance, and, upon such Inquiries, found no Cause to believe that they were near the place: and, upon their giving this Account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aside; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discountenancing farther Inquiry.

Though this wicked and abominable Action had to a degree satisfied their Malice, it had not enough provided for their Ambition or Security. They had no

B O O K  
XII.

fooner freed themselves from one, than another King was grown up in his place. And besides the old Royal Party, which continued still vigorous, notwithstanding their loss of so much Blood, and (which weakens almost as much) of so great Estates, they did apprehend that there were in the vast number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had so grievously offended) who would yet be very willing to submit, and be obedient to the new King; who was like to find more Friends abroad, as well as at home, than his Father had done. And therefore they made haste to prevent this threatening evil, by publishing a Proclamation, "that no Person

Proclamation  
against  
proclaiming  
Charles  
Stuart King.

" whatsoever should presume to declare *Charles Stuart*, Son of the late *Charles*, commonly called the Prince of *Wales*, or any other Person, to be King, or Chief Magistrate of *England*, or *Ireland*, or of any Dominions belonging thereunto, by color of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other Claim whatsoever; and that whoever, contrary to this Act, presume to proclaim, &c. should be deemed and adjudged a Traitor, and suffer accordingly."

In the next place, that their Infant-Republic might be Nursed, Cherished, and brought up by those only who had gotten and brought it forth, they resolved to take away and abolish the House of Peers; and Voted, "that they would make no farther Addresses

The Commons  
abolish the  
House of  
Peers.

" to the House of Lords, nor receive any more from them: that the House of Peers, in Parliament, was useless and dangerous; and that an Act should be brought in for abolishing it: that the Privilege of

“ the Peers of being freed from Arrests, should be  
 “ declared null and void, all which was done with-  
 “ in few days.” However, they declared, “ that the  
 “ Peers should have the Privilege to be elected  
 “ Knights, or Burgeſſes ;” of which gracious Concef-  
 ſion ſome of them took the benefit ſoon after, and ſat,  
 upon their Election into vacant places, in the Houſe  
 of Commons.

B O O K  
 XI.

There remained yet another proviſion to be made  
 againſt their own Ambition ; for it was well known,  
 that there were yet amongſt them many who were  
 not equally fond of a Common-wealth ;” and there-  
 fore they declared, “ that it had been found by expe-  
 “ rience, that the Office of a King in this Nation, or to  
 “ have the Power thereof in any ſingle Perſon, was  
 “ unneceſſary, burdensome, and dangerous to the  
 “ Liberty, and Safety, and Public Intereſt of the Na-  
 “ tion ; and therefore that it ſhould be utterly abo-  
 “ liſhed ; and to that purpoſe an Act ſhould be forth-  
 “ with prepared :” which was likewiſe done, and  
 paſſed. And by this Triple-Chord they believed their  
 Republic would be ſtrongly compacted, and ſuffi-  
 ciently provided for.

Vote againſt  
 the Office of  
 Kingship.

Their new Great-Seal was by this time ready ;  
 whereon was Engraven, on one ſide, the Arms of  
 England and Ireland, with this Inſcription, *The Great  
 Seal of England* ; and on the other ſide the Portraiture  
 of the Houſe of Commons Sitting, circumscribed, *In  
 the firſt Year of Freedom by God's bleſſing reſtored, 1648.*  
 The Cuſtody of this Great-Seal was committed to  
 three Lawyers, whereof one had ſat among the King's  
 Judges, and the others had contributed too much to

They made a  
 new Great-  
 Seal.



**B O O K** their Service. All things being now in this good  
**XI.** Order, they sent for their Judges, to agree upon the formality and circumstances of Proceedings. For it was declared by the Parliament, "that they were  
 " fully resolved to maintain, and uphold the Funda-  
 " mental Laws of the Nation, in order to the prefer-  
 " vation of the Lives, Property, and Liberty of the  
 " People, notwithstanding all the alterations made  
 " in the Government for the good of the People:" And the Writs were no more to run in the King's Name, as they had always done, but the Name, Style, and Test, to be *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ, Autoritate Parliamenti*. If it were not a thing so notoriously known, it could not be believed, that of twelve Judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly submitted, from the beginning of the War, to the Authority that governed, six laid down their places, and could not give themselves leave to accept Commissions from the new Established Power. So aguish and fantastical a thing is the Conscience of Men who have once departed from the Rule of Conscience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a less pressing occasion.

Six of their  
 own Judges  
 give up.

How some  
 Neighbouring  
 Princes took  
 the King's  
 Murder.

It will be requisite, at least it may not be unfit, to rest and make a pause in this place, to take a view, with what Countenance the Kings and Princes of *Christendom* had their Eyes fixed upon this sad and bloody Spectacle: how they looked upon that issue of Blood, at which their own seemed to be so prodigally poured out; with what consternation their Hearts labored to see the Impious Hands of the lowest and basest Subjects bathing in the Bowels, and

reeking Blood of their Sovereign; a Brother King, the Anointed of the Lord, dismembered as a Malefactor; what Combination, and Union was entered into, to take vengeance upon those Monsters, and to vindicate the Royal Blood thus wickedly spilt. Alas! there was scarce a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the Language of the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Go, ye swift Messengers, to a Nation scattered, and peeled, to a People terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a Nation meted out, and trodden down, whose Lands the Rivers have spoiled*, they made haste, and sent over, that they might get shares in the Spoils of a Murdered-Monarch.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, who, in the Infancy of the *French* King, managed that Sceptre, had long adored the Conduct of *Cromwell*, and sought his Friendship by a lower and viler application than was suitable to the purple of a Cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the purchase of the rich Goods and Jewels of the rifled Crown; of which he purchased the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets, which furnished his Palace at *Paris*. The King of *Spain* had, from the beginning of the Rebellion, kept *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, who had been his Ambassador to the King, residing still at *London*; and He had, upon several occasions, many Audiences from the Parliament, and several Treaties on foot; and as soon as this dismal Murder was over, that Ambassador, who had always a great malignity towards the King, bought as many Pictures, and other precious Goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being sent in Ships to the *Corrunna* in *Spain*, were carried from thence to *Madrid*.

**B O O K** upon eighteen Mules. *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* purchased the choice of all the Medals, and Jewels, and some Pictures of a great price, and received the Parliament's Agent with great Joy, and Pomp, and made an Alliance with them. The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, who was Governor of *Flanders*, disbursed a great Sum of Money for many of the best Pictures, which adorned the several Palaces of the King; which were all brought to him to *Brussels*, and from thence carried by him into *Germany*. In this manner did the Neighbour-Princes join to assist *Cromwell* with very great Sums of Money, whereby he was enabled to prosecute, and finish his wicked Victory over what yet remained unconquered, and to extinguish Monarchy in this renowned Kingdom; whilst they enriched and adorned themselves with the Ruins and Spoils of the surviving Heir, without applying any part thereof to his Relief, in the greatest necessities which ever King was subject to. And that which is stranger than all this (since most Men, by recovering their fortunes, use to recover most of what they were before robbed of, many who joined in the Robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for the true Owner) not one of all these Princes ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the King, after his blessed Restoration.

Whilst these perfidious wretches had their hands still reeking in the precious blood of their Sovereign, they were put upon a new piece of Butchery, as necessary to the Establishment of their new Tyranny. The King was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, “ that from this time *England* should

“ be governed as a Common-wealth by the Parliament;” that is, by that handful of Men, who by their wisdom and power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And because the number of those appeared very small, and the number of those they had excluded was as visible, they made an Order and Declaration, “ that as many of the Members who had been excluded, as would, under their hands, approve all that had been done during the time they were excluded, should return to their Seats in the House without any prejudice for the future.” Hereupon divers went again into the House, satisfying themselves that they were not guilty of the Innocent Royal Blood that had been spilt; and so their number increased. They had made a new Great-Seal, as hath been said, and called the Commissioners, who were intrusted with the keeping thereof, *The Keepers of the Liberties of England*. And the Court of King’s Bench they called the *Upper Bench*, and appointed certain Persons to consider of such alterations as were necessary to be made in the Laws of *England*, in regard of so important a mutation. That they might have some obligation of obedience from their Subjects for the future, who had broken all the former Oaths which they had taken, a new Oath was prepared and established, which they called an *Engagement*; the form whereof was, that every Man should swear, “ that he would be true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers:” and whosoever refused to take that Engagement should be incapable of holding any Place, or Office in Church or State. The necessity of taking which

An Oath  
imposed  
called the  
Engagement.



**BOOK** Oath did not only exclude all of the Royal Party,  
**XI.** but freed them from very many who had Offices in Church and State, who, being of the Presbyterian Party, durst not sacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And so they filled many considerable places both in the one, and the other, with Men thoroughly prepared for their Service. But before they could model and finish all this, and whilst it was preparing, they had, in several parts of the Kingdom, terrified the People with Blood-Spectacles, in the executing many of the Persons who had been taken. And that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their Subjects, the Peers of *England*, that they should hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental Laws of the Land were, a new High-Court of Justice was appointed to sit for the Trial of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and another Gentleman, one Sir *John Owen* (who, having been heretofore a Colonel in the King's Army, had, in a late Insurrection in *Wales*, killed the High-Sheriff) that they might see there should hereafter be no more distinction of Quality in Trials for Life, but that the greatest Lord and the Commoners should undergo the same Judiciary, and form of Trial. Nor could it be thought unreasonable, that all the Creations of the Crown should be determined by that jurisdiction to which the Crown itself had been subjected.

A new High-Court of Justice sits; and several Trials before them.

Duke *Hamilton* first tried.

Duke *Hamilton* could not well be thought other than a Prisoner of War, and so not liable to a Trial for his Life. He had attempted to make an Escape; in which he had so well succeeded, that he

was

was out of his Enemies hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater distance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking Horse in *Southwark*; and carried Prisoner into the Tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that High-Court of Justice. He insisted upon “the Right and Privilege of the Kingdom of *Scotland*: that it had not the least Dependance upon the Kingdom of *England*, but was entirely Governed by its own Laws: that He, being a Subject of that Kingdom, was bound to obey the Commands thereof; and the Parliament of that Kingdom having thought it necessary to raise an Army for the relief of their King, and constituted Him General of that Army, it was not Lawful for him to refuse the Command thereof; and whatever misfortune he had undergone with it, he could not be understood to be liable to any punishment but what a Prisoner of War was bound to undergo.” He was told, “that the Rights and Laws of the Kingdom of *Scotland* were not called in Question, nor could be violated by Their proceedings against Him, who was a Subject of *England*; against which he was charged with Rebellion and Treason: that they did not proceed against him as Duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*, but as Earl of *Cambridge* in *England*, and they would judge him as such.”

The Earl of *Holland* was not at that time in a good disposition of Health, and so Answered little, as a Man that would rather receive his life by their favor, than from the strength of his defence. The Earl of *Norwich* behaved himself with great submission to the Court, and with all those Addresses as were most

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XI.

Then the Earl  
of Holland.

The Earl of  
Norwich.

B O O K like to reconcile his Judges to him, and to prevail  
 XL. over their Affections: spoke of "his being bred up  
 "in the Court, from his Cradle, in the time of Queen  
 "Elizabeth; of his having been a Servant to King  
 "James all his Reign; of his dependance upon Prince  
 "Harry; afterwards, upon the late King; of the  
 "obligations he had to the Crown, and of his Endeavours  
 "to serve it; and concluded as a Man that  
 "would be beholding to them if they would give him  
 leave to live.

The Lord  
 Capel.

The Lord *Capel* appeared undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction; that in the condition and capacity of a Soldier and a Prisoner of War, he said, the Lawyers and Gownmen had nothing to do with him, and therefore would not Answer to any thing which they had said against him (*Steel* having treated him with great rudeness and insolence) but insisted upon "the Law of Nations, which exempted all Prisoners, though submitting to Mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many days; which were long since expired." He urged "the Declaration which *Fairfax* the General had made to Him, and the rest of the Prisoners, after the death of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle*, that no other of their Lives should be in danger, which he had Witnesses ready to prove, if they might be admitted;" and concluded, "that, if he had committed any Offence worthy of death, he might be tried by his Peers; which was his Right by the Laws of the Land; the benefit whereof he required." *Ireton*, who was present, and sat as one of his Judges, denied "that the General had

“ made any such promise, and if he had, that the  
 “ Parliament’s Authority could not be restrained  
 “ thereby ;” and put him in mind of his Carriage at  
 that time, and how much he neglected then the General’s civility. The other insisted still on the promise ;  
 and urged “ that the General might be sent for, and  
 “ examined ;” which they knew not how to deny ,  
 but, in regard of his indisposition of Health, they said  
 “ they would send to him , whilst they proceeded  
 “ against Sir John Owen, who was the other Prisoner.”

He Answered them without any application, “ that Sir John Owen  
 “ he was a plain Gentleman of *Wales*, who had been  
 “ always taught to obey the King; that he served him  
 “ honestly during the War , and finding afterwards  
 “ that many honest Men endeavoured to raise Forces,  
 “ whereby they might get him out of Prison, He did  
 “ the like ; and the High-Sheriff endeavoured to op-  
 “ pose him , and so chanced to be killed : which he  
 “ might have avoided if he had staid at home :” and  
 concluded like a Man that did not much care what  
 they resolved concerning him.

Whether the Question was well stated to *Fairfax*, or  
 what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning  
 his Declaration and promise , he boggled so much in  
 his Answer, that they would be of opinion, “ that  
 “ he had not made such direct and positive promise ;  
 “ and that the same was never transmitted to the  
 “ Parliament ; which it ought to have been ; and  
 “ that, at most, it could but exempt those Prisoners  
 “ from being tried before a Court, or Council of War,  
 “ and could not be understood as an obligation upon  
 “ the Parliament, not to give direction to such a



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" legal Proceeding against them, as they should find  
" necessary for the Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom."  
The President *Bradshaw* told the Lord *Capel*, with  
many insolent expressions, " that he was tried before  
" such Judges as the Parliament thought fit to assign  
" him;" and who had judged a better Man than  
" himself." So the Sentence of death was pronounced  
against all five of them, " that they should lose their  
" heads;" upon which Sir *John Owen* made a low  
reverence, and gave them humble thanks, and being  
asked by a Stander by, " what he meant?" he said  
aloud, " it was a very great honor to a poor Gentle-  
" man of *Wales* to lose his head with such noble  
" Lords;" and swore a great Oath, " that he was  
" afraid they would have hanged him.

All five con-  
demned,

The Prisoners were all carried to *St. James'*; where  
they were to remain till their Execution two days  
after; which time their Friends, and Relations, had  
to endeavour to preserve their lives by the Power and  
Authority of the Parliament; where there were so  
many sitting who had not sat in judgment upon  
them, and who were of several Affections, and liable  
to several temptations, that there might be reason-  
able hope to rescue them from the cruel and unjust  
Judgment. Their Wives, and Children, and Friends,  
left no way untried to prevail; offered, and gave  
Money to some who were willing to receive it, and  
made promises accordingly. But they who had the  
greatest credit, and most power to terrify others who  
should displease them, were inexorable; yet dealt so  
much more honestly than the rest, that they declared  
to the Ladies, who solicited for their Husbands and

their Fathers, "that they would not endeavour to  
"do them Service." *Ireton*, above all Men, con-  
tinued his insolent and dogged humor, and told  
them, "if He had credit, they should all die." Others,  
who, gave better Words, had no better Meaning  
than he.

All their Petitions were read in order, being penned  
in such Styles as the Friends, who solicited for them,  
were advised. Duke *Hamilton's* Petition being read,  
many, upon the motives of Justice, and as they ima-  
gined, his death might be the occasion of new  
Troubles between the two Nations, since *Scotland*  
could not but resent it, would have been willing he  
should live. But he had fewer Friends to his Person  
than any of the rest; and *Cromwell* knew well that his  
being out of the way would not be unacceptable to  
them upon whom the Peace of that Kingdom de-  
pended: so that when his Petition was read, it was  
rejected by very much the Major part of Voices.  
The consideration of the Earl of *Holland* took up a  
long debate: the Interest and Interposition of the  
Earl of *Warwick*, his Brother, was applied; and  
every Presbyterian, to a Man, was solicitous to  
preserve him. They urged "his merit towards the  
"Parliament in the beginning of the Troubles;  
"how much he had suffered in the Court for his  
"Affection to them: his Age, and Infirmities, which  
"would not suffer him long to enjoy that Life they  
"should give him: and the consideration of his  
"Wife, and Children, which were numerous." But  
these Arguments stirred up others, to inveigh against  
his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to

**B O O K** undervalue the Services he had ever done ; to tax  
**xi.** his Vanities , and his breach of Faith. When the Question was put concerning him , they who were for the Negative , exceeded the number of the other by three or four Votes ; *Cromwell* having more than an ordinary Animosity against him , for his behaviour in the beginning of the Summer , and for some words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himself. The Earl of *Norwich* came next upon the Stage ; who having always lived a cheerful and jovial Life , without contracting many Enemies had many there who wished him well , and few who had Animosity against him ; so that when the Question was put concerning him , the House was equally divided , the Votes which rejected his Petition , and those which would preserve his Life , were equal : so that his Life or Death depended upon the single Vote of the Speaker ; who told the House , “ that he had “ received many obligations from that Lord ; and “ that once when he had been like to have incurred “ the King’s displeasure , by some misinformation , “ which would have been very penal to him ; the Lord *Goring* ( under which style he was treated , the additional of *Norwich* not being allowed by them upon their old Rule ) “ had by his Credit preserved “ him , and removed the Prejudice that was against “ him ; and therefore he was obliged in gratitude to “ give his Vote for the saving him .” By this good fortune he came to be preserved ; whether the ground of it were true or no , or whether the Speaker made it only as an excuse for saving any Man’s Life who was put to ask it in that place.

The Lord *Capel*, shortly after he was brought Prisoner to the Tower from *Windſor*-Castle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a Chord and all things necessary conveyed to him, let himself down out of the Window of his Chamber in the night, over the Wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the Ditch he might be best able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no safer place he found the Water and the Mud so deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other Men, he must have perished, since the Water came up to his Chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much Mud so intolerable, that his Spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the Prison, than to be found in such a place, from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleased God, that he got at last to the other side; where his Friends expected him, and carried him to a Chamber in the Temple; where he remained two or three nights secure from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence that could not but be used to recover a man they designed to use no better. After two or three days a Friend whom he trusted much, and who deserved to be trusted, conceiving that he might be more secure in a place to which there was less resort, and where there were so many harboured who were every day sought after, had provided a Lodging for him in a private House in *Lambeth*-Marsh; and calling upon him in an Evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather



BOOK XI. to take any Boat they found ready at the Temple-Stairs, than to trust one of that People with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only Boat left there. In that the Lord *Capel* (as well disguised as he thought necessary) and his Friend, put themselves, and bid the Water-man row them to *Lambeth*. Whether, in their passage thither, the other Gentleman called him *my Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the Water-man had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise, when they were landed, the wicked Water-man, undiscerned, followed them, till he saw into what House they went; and then went to an Officer, and demanded, “ what “ he would give him to bring him to the place where “ the Lord *Capel* lay ?” And the Officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the House, where that excellent Person was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

When the Petition, that his Wife had delivered, was read, many Gentlemen spoke on his behalf; and mentioned the great Virtues which were in him; and “ that he had never deceived them, or pretended to be of their Party; but always resolutely declared himself for the King :” and *Cromwell*, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all Men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, “ that his Affections to the “ Public so much weighed down his private Friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the Question was now, whether they would preserve the “ most bitter and most implacable Enemy they had :

“ that he knew the Lord *Capel* very well, and knew  
 “ that he would be the last Man in *England* that  
 “ would forsake the Royal Interest; that he had great  
 “ Courage, Industry, and Generosity; that he had  
 “ many Friends who would always adhere to him;  
 “ and that as long as he lived, what condition soever  
 “ he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and  
 “ therefore, for the good of the Common-wealth,  
 “ he should give his Vote against the Petition.” *Ire-*  
*ton’s* Hatred was Immortal: he spake of him, and  
 against him, as of a Man of whom he was heartily  
 afraid. Very many were swayed by the Argument  
 that had been urged against Duke *Hamilton*, “ that  
 “ God was not pleased that he should Escape, be-  
 “ cause He had put him into their hands again, when  
 “ he was at liberty.” And so, after a long debate,  
 though there was not a Man who had not a value  
 for him, and very few who had a particular Malice,  
 or Prejudice towards him, the Question being put,  
 the Negative was more by three or four Voices: So  
 that, of the four Lords, three were without the  
 Mercy of that Unmerciful People. There being no  
 other Petition presented, *Ireton* told them, “ there  
 “ had been great Endeavours and Solicitation used  
 “ to save all those Lords; but that there was a Com-  
 “ moner, another condemned Person, for whom no  
 one Man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so  
 much as Petitioned them; and therefore he desired,  
 “ that Sir *John Owen* might be preserved by the  
 “ mere Motive, and goodness of the House itself;”  
 which found little opposition; whether they were  
 fatiated with Blood, or that they were willing, by

**B O O K** this Instance, that the Nobility should see that a Com-  
**XL.** moner should be preferred before them.

Duke Hamil-  
 ton behead-  
 ed, Mar. 9.

A Scaffold was erected before *Westminster-Hall*, and all the Prisoners condemned were brought from *St. James'* (as well the two who were reprieved, as the three who were to suffer) upon the ninth of *March*, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a Month after the Murder of the King, to *Sir Thomas Cotton's House*, at the upper end of *Westminster-Hall*; where they were suffered to repose themselves about the space of an hour, and then were led successively through the Hall to the Scaffold, *Duke Hamilton* being first; who seemed yet to have some hope of a Reprieve, and made some stay in the Hall, till the Earl of *Denbigh* came to him; and after a short whisper, in which he found there was no hope, he ascended the Scaffold. He complained much of "the injustice that was done him; and that he was  
 " put to death for obeying the Laws of his Country;  
 " which if he had not done, he must have been put  
 " to death there." He acknowledged the Obligations he had to the King, and seemed not sorry for the gratitude he had expressed, how dear soever it cost him. His natural darkness, and reservation in his discourse, made him to be thought a Wise man, and his having been in Command under the King of *Sweden*, and his continual discourses of Battles, and Fortifications, made him be thought a great Soldier. And both these mistakes were the Cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and a more dangerous Man, than in truth he deserved to be.

The Earl of  
 Holland the  
 same day.

The Earl of *Holland* was brought next, who, by his long sickness, was so spent, that his Spirits served

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not to entertain the People with long discourse. He spoke of "his Religion, as a matter unquestionable, " by the Education he had had in the Religious Family of which he was a branch:" which was thought a strange discourse for a dying Man, who, though a Son, knew enough of the iniquity of his Father's House, which should rather have been buried in silence, than, by such an unseasonable Testimony, have been revived in the memory and discourse of Men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to Parliaments, than a good Servant to his Master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his Duty to him, which most good Men believed to be the Source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred Man, and a fine Gentleman in good times; but too much desired to enjoy ease and plenty, when the King could have neither; and did think Poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any Man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have lived long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood followed.

The Lord *Capel* was then called; who walked through *Westminster-Hall*, saluting such of his Friends and Acquaintance as he saw there, with a very serene Countenance, accompanied with his Friend Dr. *Morley*; who had been with him from the time of his Sentence; but, at the foot of the Scaffold, the Soldiers stopping the Dr. his Lordship took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and said, he should go no farther, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by that rude People after his death; the Chaplains who attended the

The Lord  
Capel



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two other Lords, being Men of the time, and the Dr. being well known to be most contrary.

As soon as his Lordship had ascended the *Scaffold*, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, "whether the other Lords had spoken to the People with their Hats on?" and being told "that they were bare;" he gave his Hat to his Servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice, he said, "that he was brought thither to die for doing that which he could not repent of: that he had been born, and bred under the Government of a King whom he was bound in Conscience to obey; under Laws, to which he had been always obedient; and in the bosom of a Church, which he thought the best in the world: that he had never violated his Faith to either of those, and was now condemned to die against all the Laws of the Land; to which Sentence he did submit."

He enlarged himself in commending "the great Virtue and Piety of the King, whom they had put to death; who was so just and so merciful a Prince; and prayed to God, to forgive the Nation that innocent Blood. Then he recommended to them the present King; who, he told them, was their true and their Lawful Sovereign; and was worthy to be so: that he had the honor to have been some years near his Person, and therefore he could not but know him well;" and assured them, "that he was a Prince of great understanding, of an excellent Nature, of great Courage, an entire Lover of Justice, and of exemplary Piety: that he was not to be shaken in his Religion; and had all those Princely Virtues, which could make a Nation happy:"

and therefore advised them "to submit to his Government, as the only means to preserve themselves, their Posterity, and the Protestant Religion." And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his Knees, he submitted himself, with an unparalleled Christian Courage, to the fatal stroke, which deprived the Nation of the noblest Champion it had.

He was a Man in whom the Malice of his Enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his Friends could not wish better accomplished; whom *Cromwell's* own Character well described; and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that Government. His Memory all Men loved and revered, though few followed his Example. He had always lived in a State of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble Fortune of his own by descent, and a fair Addition to it by his Marriage with an excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction, of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a numerous Issue of both Sexes, in which he took great Joy and Comfort: so that no Man was more happy in all his Domestic Affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

And yet the King's Honor was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than those which his own Honor and Conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his Person and his Fortune from the beginning of the Troubles, as many others did, in all Actions and

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XI.

The Lord  
Capel's  
Character.

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Enterprizes of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a Faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some rebellion of his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and, with the same cheerfulness, to obey the first Summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a Man, that whoever shall, after him, deserve best of the *English* Nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear, that his Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity, is laid in the Balance with and compared to that of the Lord *Capel*.

The Conclusion and Character of the year 1648.

So ended the year one thousand six hundred forty-eight; a year of Reproach and Infamy above all years which had passed before it; a year of the highest dissimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest Villany and most bloody Treasons, that any Nation was ever cursed with, or under: a year, in which the Memory of all the Transactions ought to be rased out of all Records, lest, by the success of it, Atheism, Infidelity, and Rebellion, should be propagated in the world: a year, of which We may say, as the Historian said of the time of *Domitian*, *Sicut vetus atas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitude*; or, as the same Writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS  
IN  
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor  
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

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Κἄν τις ἐς αἰ. Thucyd.

*Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.*

---

V O L. X.

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BASIL:

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M D C C X C V I I I.





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THE  
History of the Rebellion, etc.  
B O O K XII.

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2 Chron. XXVIII. 10.

*And now ye purpose to keep under the Children of Judah  
and Jerusalem for bond-men and bond-women unto  
you : but are there not with you, even with you, Sins  
against the Lord your God ?*

Isa. XXIX. 10.

*For the Lord hath poured out upon you the Spirit of deep  
sleep, and hath closed your eyes : the Prophets and  
your Rulers, the Seers hath he covered.*

---

**W**HILST these Tragedies were acting in *Eng- B O O K*  
*land*, and Ordinances formed, as hath been said, to XII.  
make it penal in the highest degree for any Man to  
assume the Title of King, or to acknowledge any Man  
to be so, the King himself remained in a very discon-  
solate Condition at the *Hague*. Though he had known  
the desperate state his Father was long in, yet the  
barbarous stroke so surpris'd him, that he was in all  
the Confusion imaginable, and all about him were  
almost bereft of their understanding. The truth is, it  
can hardly be conceived, with what a consternation  
this terrible News was received by all, even by the

The young  
King's con-  
dition at the  
*Hague*.

**B O O K** Common-People of that Country. There was a  
**X. I.** Woman at the *Hague*, of the middling Rank, who, being with Child, with the Horror of the mention of it, fell into Travel and in it died. There could not be more Evidence of a general detestation, than there was, amongst all Men of what Quality soever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the King's recollection, the States presented themselves in a Body to his Majesty, to condole with him for the Murder of his Father in terms of great Sorrow safe that there was not bitterness enough against the Rebels and Murderers. The States of *Holland*, apart, performed the same Civility towards his Majesty; and the Body of the Clergy, in a Latine Oration, delivered by the Chief-Preacher of the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune, in terms of as much asperity, and detestation of the Actors, as unworthy the name of Christians as could be expressed.

The States  
condole with  
him.

The desperateness of the King's Condition could not excuse his sinking under the Burden of his Grief: but those who were about him besought him to resume so much Courage as was necessary for his present State. He thereupon caused those of his Father's Council who had attended him, to be sworn of his Privy-Council, adding only Mr. Long his Secretary; who, before, was not of the Council. All which was done before he heard from the Queen his Mother; who, notwithstanding the great Agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of Sorrow as she was able to sustain, wrote to the King, "that he could not do better, than to repair into *France* as soon as was possible, and, in the mean time, desired him, not to

The new  
Council sworn.

The Queen's  
first Message  
to him.

“ swear any Person to be of his Council, till She  
 “ could speak with him.” Whether it was, that she  
 did not think those Persons to be enough at her  
 Devotion; or that she would have them receive that  
 Honor upon her recommendation.

The King himself had no mind to go into *France*;  
 where he thought he had not been treated with excess  
 of Courtesy; and he resolved to perform all Filial res-  
 pect towards the Queen his Mother, without such a  
 condescension and resignation of himself, as she expect-  
 ed; and to avoid all Eclaircissements upon that Sub-  
 ject, he heartily desired that any other Course might  
 be found more Counselable than that he should go  
 into *France*. He himself lived with, and upon the  
 Prince of *Orange*; who supplied him with all things  
 necessary for his own Person, for his Mourning, and  
 the like: but towards any other support for himself  
 and his Family, his Majesty had not enough to main-  
 tain them one day: and there were very few of them,  
 who could maintain themselves in the most private  
 way: and it was visible enough, that they should not  
 be long able to reside in the *Hague*; where there was,  
 at that very time, an Agent for the Parliament,  
*Strickland*; who had been there some years, but pre-  
 tended then to reside there with his Wife (who was  
 born in *Holland* of *English* Parents) and without any  
 public Character, though he was still under the same  
 Credentials. And their Advertisements from *London*  
 assured them, that the Parliament had nominated one,  
 who was presently to be sent as their Ambassador, or  
 Envoy to the States, to give them an Account of their  
 Affairs, and to invite them to enter into an Alliance



B O O K

XII.

The King  
thinks of go-  
ing into Ire-  
land. The  
Affairs there  
at that time.

with them. So that it was time to think of some other Retreat for the King; and none appeared then so seasonable in their view, as *Ireland*; from whence they heard, "that Prince *Rupert* was arrived safely at "*Kinsale* with the Fleet: that the Lord *Inchiquin* had "*made a Cessation with the Irish*, before the Lord- "*Lieutenant came thither*; and the *Irish* had deserted "*the Pope's Nuntio*, who was driven away, and had "*Embarked himself for France*: that the Marquis of "*Ormond* was received by the Lord *Inchiquin* with "*all the Obedience imaginable*, by which he became "*entirely possessed of the whole Province of Munster*; "*and that the Confederate-Roman-Catholics had "*invited him to *Kilkenny*; where he had made a full "*Peace with them*: so that they were preparing an "*Army to march under his Command against Dublin*. "*This News made them hope*, that every day would "*improve it so much*, that it would be fit for the King "*to Transport his own Person thither in the Spring.*"

In this conjuncture there arrived a Gentleman, one Sir *Joseph Douglas*, with a Letter from the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, by which they sent his Majesty word that they had proclaimed him King of *Scotland*; and sent him the Proclamation; and wished, "that he "*would prepare himself to repair into that his King-* "*dom*; in order to which they would speedily send "*another Invitation to him.*" And that Invitation arrived at the same time with some Commissioners deputed by the Council, and three or four Preachers sent from the Commissioners of the Kirk. The Proclamation indeed declared, "For that as much "*as the late King was*, contrary to the Dissent and

The King  
proclaimed in  
*Scotland*  
and Commis-  
sioners thence  
sent to him.

“ Protestation of that Kingdom, removed by a violent  
 “ death, that, by the Lord’s Blessing, there was left  
 “ unto them a righteous Heir, and lawful Successor,  
 “ *Charles*, &c. who was become their true and lawful  
 “ King;” but upon condition of “his good beha-  
 “ viour, and strict observation of the Covenant, and  
 “ his entertaining no other Persons about him but  
 “ such as were Godly Men, and faithful to that  
 “ obligation.” A Proclamation so strangely worded,  
 that, though it called him their King, manifested  
 enough to him, that he was to be subject to Their  
 determinations, in all the parts of his Government.  
 And the Commissioners, both Laity and Clergy,  
 spake no other Language; and saying that they bowed  
 their Bodies, and made low Reverences, they appear-  
 ed more like Ambassadors from a free State to an equal  
 Ally, than like Subjects sent to their own Sover-  
 eign. At the same time, though not in the same Ship,  
 arrived likewise from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lanrick*,  
 and the Earl of *Lautherdale*; the former not knowing,  
 till he came into *Holland*, that he was Duke *Hamilton*  
 by the slaughter of his Elder Brother. But they two  
 were so far from having any Authority from their  
 Country, that they were fled from thence as proscrib-  
 ed Persons and Malefactors. The Earl of *Lautherdale*,  
 after his departure from the *Hague*, in that discontent  
 that is mentioned before, bent his Course for *Scotland*.  
 But before he came thither, he was informed, that the  
 state of all things had been reversed, and the Engage-  
 ment declared unlawful, and to what penalties himself  
 was liable, if he should be taken. Whereupon, without  
 suffering his Ship to go into any Port, he found means

*Lanrick*,  
 now Duke  
*Hamilton*,  
 and *Lauther-*  
*dale*, came to  
 him also.

**B O O K** to send on shore to some Friends, and so to concert all  
**XII.** things, that without being discovered, the Earl of  
*Lanrick*, and some other Persons, liable to danger if  
 they were found, put themselves on board the same  
 Ship, and arrived in *Holland* about that time when  
 the other Messengers from the State and from the Kirk  
 came from *Scotland*, and when the News came of the  
 Execution of Duke *Hamilton*.

The Character  
 of this Duke  
*Hamilton*.

Whereupon the new Duke kept his Chamber for  
 some days, without so much as waiting on the King;  
 who sent a gracious Message to him to condole for  
 the loss of his Brother; and all the Lords, and other  
 Persons of Quality about the King made their visits  
 to him with all civility. This Duke was not inferior  
 in Wisdom, and Parts of Understanding, to the wisest  
 Man of that Nation, and was very much esteemed  
 by those who did not like the complying, and insinuating  
 Nature of his Brother. He was a Man of great  
 Honor, Courage, and sincerity in his Nature, and,  
 which was a rare virtue in the Men of that time, was  
 still the same Man he pretended to be; and had very  
 much to say in his own defence for the Errors he had  
 run into; which he acknowledged always with great  
 ingenuity, and abhorred the whole proceedings of his  
 Countrymen; and, at this time, brought a heart, and  
 affection clearer and less clogged with scruples and  
 reservations, for the King's service, than any other of  
 them did.

The condition  
 of Scotland  
 about this  
 time.

Though *Cromwell*, at his being in *Scotland*, had left  
*Argyle* in full Possession of the Government there, and  
 had reduced, and disbanded all those who were in  
 Arms against him, and promised him all necessary

assistance to subdue those who should rise against him in that Kingdom for the future, and thereby compelled the Committee of Estates to convene, and summon the Parliament to Assemble which they had authority to do; and so he had suppressed the Party of *Hamilton*, driven the Earl of *Lanrick* to hide himself in some obscure place, and condemned the Engagement as unlawful and sinful, and all the Persons who advanced and promoted it, as Deserters of the Covenant, and so to stand excommunicated, and not to be capable of serving in Parliament, or in the Council of Estate; so that he was sure to find no opposition in whatsoever he proposed; yet, after the Parliament had served him so far, when they heard that the Parliament in *England* was broken, and their Freedom and Privileges were taken from them by the insolence, and power of the Army (which they perfectly hated and detested, and all those Sects and Libertinism they heard were introduced in Religion contrary to their Covenant, which *Cromwell* himself had promised should be strictly observed) they begun to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the Covenant itself. The delivery of the King's Person into the hands of the Parliament at *New-Castle* had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular, and ungracious act to the whole Nation of *Scotland*, that it had been ever guilty of, and to the Army they had then on foot, which took itself to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly disbanded by the cunning of *Argyle*: and the universal indignation against that action was the principal incitement to that general Engagement



BOOK XII. with Duke *Hamilton*, that the honor of the Nation might in some degree be repaired, or redeemed. It was a gross oversight in the *Hamiltonian* Party, and discerned then to be so by the Earl of *Larick*, that, upon that popular advantage, in which he would have found an universal concurrence, *Argyle* himself and all his Faction had not been totally suppressed, for the redemption of the honor of their Country. But that Duke's Politics did not lie that way; and, so he might return to his old Post of favor in *England*, of which he made little doubt, he was not willing to give a new beginning to those bloody Enterprises in *Scotland*, which, he knew well, used not to be short-lived in that Climate after once begun, but had always fresh Sacrifices of Blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

Commissioners had been sent from the Parliament of Scotland before the death of the King to the Parliament of England.

They had no sooner heard of the erection of a High-Court of Justice, and of a purpose of trying the King for his Life, than, notwithstanding all the Arguments *Argyle* could use, they were all in a flame. As well the Assembly of the Kirk, as the Parliament, renewed the sense they always had of reproach in the delivery of his Person, of which the present danger to him was the consequence. And the Marquis of *Argyle* had had too deep a share in that wickedness, to endure the shock of a new dispute, and Inquisition upon that subject; and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion; but seemed equally concerned in the honor of the Nation, to prosecute a high Expostulation with those of *England*, for the breach of faith, and the promises, which had been made for the safety, and preservation of the King's Person, at the time

he was delivered up; and therefore proposed, "that  
 " Commissioners should be forthwith sent to the  
 " Parliament at *London*, to require the performance  
 " of what they had promised, and to enter their  
 " dissent, and protestation against all their Proceedings  
 " against their King, in the name of the Kingdom of  
 " *Scotland*." And the Earl of *Lothian*, and two others,  
 who were known to be most zealous for the Cove-  
 nant, and most enraged and incensed against the  
 proceedings of the Army, were made choice of, and  
 presently sent away, that they might make all possible  
 haste to *Westminster*, and were, immediately upon  
 their Arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the  
 King, wherever he should be, and to receive from  
 him such farther directions, as he should judge neces-  
 sary for his service.

Thus far *Argyle* could not oppose; and therefore  
 was as zealous as any Man to advance it; knowing  
 that the particular Instructions must be prepared by a  
 less number of Men, and not subjected to the examina-  
 tion and perusal of so many. And in those, he was sure  
 to prevent any inconvenient powers to be granted to  
 the Commissioners, with whom he had credit enough,  
 having made the Earl of *Lothian* Secretary of State, in  
 the place of the Earl of *Lanrick*, and the other two  
 being (however solicitous for the due observation of  
 the Covenant, as he himself likewise pretended to be)  
 known to be most averse from the *Hamiltonian* Party.  
 Their private Instructions were, "that they should  
 " not, in their enlargements and aggravations upon  
 " the subject of their Message, seem to take notice, or  
 " to imply, that any violence had been used against

BOOK  
 XII.  
 Their private  
 Instructions  
 from Argyle's  
 Party.

B O O K “ the Parliament, or any Member of it : that they  
 XII. “ should be so short in their expostulations, that they  
 “ gave no occasion of offence : that nothing should  
 “ fall from them justifying the King’s proceedings,  
 “ nor in approbation of the late engagement. or which  
 “ might import a breach, or give, or be ground of  
 “ a new War : they should urge, that the Parliament  
 “ would delay to meddle with the King’s Person,  
 “ according to their several promises, and Declara-  
 “ tions at *New-Castle*, and at *Holmby* : that if they  
 “ should proceed to sentence against the King, then  
 “ they were to enter their dissent and protest, that  
 “ this Kingdom may be free from the miseries which  
 “ will inevitably follow, without offering in their  
 “ reasons, that Princes are exempted from Trial and  
 “ Justice : that none in the Parliament of *Scotland*  
 “ hath, or had any hand in the proceedings against  
 “ the King, or Members of Parliament in *England*. If  
 “ they proceed, then to show the Calamities that will  
 “ follow and how grievous it must be to the Kingdom  
 “ of *Scotland*, considering his being delivered up at  
 “ *New-Castle* : That if the Papers which were entitled  
 “ *the Agreement of the People*, appeared to be coun-  
 “ tenanced, and shou’d import any thing concerning  
 “ the Processing of the Prince, or changing the  
 “ Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, they  
 “ should enter their dissent : that they should alter  
 “ those their Instructions, and manage their Trust  
 “ therein according to the advice they should receive  
 “ from their Friends there : that they should prosecute  
 “ their Instructions concerning the Covenant, and  
 “ against any Toleration : that they should show, that

“ the King’s last Concessions were unsatisfactory to  
 “ their Propositions which they had made in point  
 “ of Religion.”

BOOK  
 XII.

These were their private Instructions; and who those Friends at *London* were, by whose advice they were to alter their Instructions, or manage their Trust therein, can be understood of no other Men but *Cromwell*, and young *Sir Harry Vane*; with whom *Argyle* held close Correspondence. The Commissioners observed their Instructions very faithfully, and after the King had been twice brought before the high Court of Justice, they gave in their very calm Protestation; in which they put them in mind, “ that  
 “ they had, near three Weeks before, represented to  
 “ them what Endeavours had been used for taking  
 “ away the King’s life, and for the change of the  
 “ fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and in-  
 “ troducing a sinful and ungodly Toleration in mat-  
 “ ters of Religion; and that therein they had expres-  
 “ sed their thoughts, and fears of the dangerous con-  
 “ sequences that might follow thereupon; and that  
 “ they had also earnestly pressed, that there might be  
 “ no farther proceeding against his Majesty’s Person,  
 “ which would certainly continue the great distrac-  
 “ tions of the Kingdom, and involve them in many  
 “ Evils, Troubles, and Confusions; but that, by the  
 “ free counsels of both Houses of Parliament of  
 “ *England*, and with the advice and consent of the  
 “ Parliament of *Scotland*, such course might be taken  
 “ in relation to the King, as might be for the good  
 “ and happiness of both Kingdoms; both having an  
 “ unquestionable, and undeniable right in his Person,

Upon the  
 King’s Trial  
 they enter  
 their Protestation and  
 Dissent.



B O O K  
XII.

“ as King of both; which duly considered, they had  
 “ reason to hope, that it would have given a stop to  
 “ all farther proceedings against his Majesty’s Person.  
 “ But now understanding that after the imprison-  
 “ ment, and exclusion of divers Members of the  
 “ House of Commons, and without, and against the  
 “ consent of the House of Peers, by a single Act of  
 “ their own, and Their’s alone, power was given to  
 “ certain Persons of their own Members, of the  
 “ Army, and some others, to proceed against his  
 “ Majesty’s Person, in order whereunto he had been  
 “ brought before that extraordinary new Court;  
 “ they did therefore in the name of the Parliament of  
 “ *Scotland*, for their vindication from false aspersions  
 “ and calumnies, declare, that though they were not  
 “ satisfied with his Majesty’s late Concessions, in the  
 “ Treaty at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, especially  
 “ in the matters of Religion, and were resolved not  
 “ to crave his Restoration to his Government, before  
 “ satisfaction should be given by him to that King-  
 “ dom; yet they did all unanimously with one voice,  
 “ not one Member excepted, disclaim the least know-  
 “ ledge of, or occasion to the late Proceedings of the  
 “ Army here against the King; and did sincerely pro-  
 “ fess that it would be a great grief to their Hearts,  
 “ and lie heavy upon their Spirits, if they should see  
 “ the trusting his Majesty’s Person to the two Houses  
 “ of the Parliament of *England* to be made use of to  
 “ his ruin, contrary to the declared Intentions of the  
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland*, and solemn Professions of the  
 “ Kingdom of *England*: and to the end that it might  
 “ be manifest to the World, how much they did

“ abominate and detest so horrid a design against his Majesty’s Person, they did, in the name of the Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*, declare their dissent from the said Proceedings, and the taking away of his Majesty’s life; protesting, that as they were altogether free from the same, so they might be free from all the miseries, evil consequences, and calamities, that might follow thereupon to the distracted Kingdoms.”

Whoever considers the wariness in the wording, and timing this Protestation, the best end whereof could be no other than the keeping the King always in Prison, and so governing without him in both Kingdoms (which was thought to have been the purpose and agreement of *Cromwell* and *Argyle* when they parted) must conclude that both the Commissioners, and they who sent them, labored and considered more, what they were to say in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the present Mischief they seemed to apprehend. And the Parliament best knew their temper, when they deferred taking notice of their Protestation, till after they had executed their execrable Villany; and then they sent them an Answer that might suit with all their palates.

They said, “ they had heretofore told them, what power this Nation had in the fundamentals of Government: that if *Scotland* had not the same Power and Liberty, as they went not about to confine Them, so they would not be limited by them, but leaving them to act in Their’s as they should see cause, they resolved to maintain their own Liberties as God should enable them. And as they were very

B O O K  
XII.

The Parlia-  
ment after  
the King’s  
Murder sent  
their Answer  
to it.

B O O K “ far from imposing upon them, so they should not  
 XII. “ willingly suffer impositions from them, whilst God  
 “ gave them strength or lives to oppose them.” They  
 said, “ the Answer they made to their first and second  
 “ Letter was, that after a long and serious Delibera-  
 “ tion of their own intrinsical Power, and Trust  
 “ (derived to them by the Providence of God,  
 “ through the delegation of the People) and upon  
 “ the like considerations of what themselves, and the  
 “ whole Nation had suffered from the Misgovern-  
 “ ment, and Tyranny of that King, both in Peace,  
 “ and by the Wars, and considering, how fruitless,  
 “ and full of danger and prejudice the many Addresses  
 “ to him for Peace had been, and being Conscious  
 “ how much they had provoked and tempted God,  
 “ by the neglect of the impartial execution of Justice,  
 “ in relation to the innocent Blood spilt and mischief  
 “ done in the late Wars, they had proceeded in such  
 “ a course of Justice against that Man of Blood, as  
 “ they doubted not the just God (who is no respec-  
 “ ter of Persons) did approve and would counten-  
 “ ance with his blessings upon the Nation; and  
 “ though perhaps they might meet with many diffi-  
 “ culties before their Liberties and Peace were set-  
 “ tled, yet they hoped they should be preserved from  
 “ Confusion, by the good Will of him who dwelt in  
 “ the bush, which burned, and was not consumed;  
 “ and that the course they had taken with the late  
 “ King, and meant to follow towards others the  
 “ Capital Enemies of their Peace, was, they hoped,  
 “ that which would be for the good and happiness of  
 “ both Nations; of which if that of *Scotland* would

“ think to make use, and vindicate their own Liberty  
 “ and Freedom ( which lay before them, if they gave  
 “ them not away ) they would be ready to give  
 “ them all Neighbourly and Friendly Assistance in  
 “ the establishing thereof ; and desired them to take  
 “ it into their most serious consideration, before they  
 “ espoused that quarrel, which could bring them no  
 “ other advantage than the entailing upon Them,  
 “ and their Posterities a lasting War, with all the  
 “ Miseries which attended it, and Slavery under a  
 “ Tyrant and his Issue.”

It cannot be denied, but that *Scotland* had by this a fair Invitation to have made themselves a poor Republic under the Shelter and Protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the Commissioners, who well knew how unsuitable such a change would be to the constitution of their Government, and that they might be welcome to their own Country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this Answer with more Courage than they had yet expressed ; for which, notwithstanding their Qualification, they were Imprisoned by the Parliament ; and, upon new Instance from *Scotland*, set at liberty afterwards.

Matters being reduced to this State, the Marquis of *Argyle* could not hinder the new King's being acknowledged, and proclaimed King, nor from being invited home ; which since he could not obstruct, it would be his Master-piece to clog the Proclamation itself with such conditions as might terrify the new King from accepting the invitation ; and therefore he caused this Clause to be inserted in the Body of the

B O O K  
XII.

The Commis-  
sioners reply,  
and are im-  
prisoned, but  
afterwards  
freed.

The Marquis  
of Argyl clogs  
the Act for  
Proclaiming  
of the King,  
with a Clause  
for the Cove-  
nant.



**B O O K** Proclamation itself, "because his Majesty is bound,  
**XII.** "by the Law of God and the fundamental Laws of  
 "this Kingdom, to rule in Righteousness and Equity  
 "to the Honor of God, and the good of Religion, and  
 "the Wealth of the People; it is hereby declared,  
 "that before he be admitted to the Exercise of his  
 "Royal Power, he shall give satisfaction to this King-  
 "dom in those things which concern the security of  
 "Religion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and  
 "the good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to  
 "the National Covenant and Solemn League and  
 "Covenant; for which end, they were resolved,  
 "with all possible Expedition, to make their humble  
 "and earnest Address to his Majesty."

This was the Proclamation that Sir *Joseph Douglas* brought to the *Hague*, and the Subject upon which the Commissioners were to invite his Majesty to go for *Scotland*, whose Instructions were very suitable to the Proclamation: and at the same time when the Commissioners came from thence, *Middleton*, and some other Officers, who had been in their last Army, hearing that the Prince was proclaimed King, thought it was seasonable to put themselves into a posture to serve him upon his arrival; and so assembled some of those Troops which had formerly served under them in the North of *Scotland*; whereupon *David Lesley* was appointed forthwith, with a Party of Horse and Foot, against those Royalists, whom they knew to be real Assertors of his Cause, without any other interest or design than of their performing their Duties, as Loyal Subjects ought to do: and the Kirk at the same time declared,

"that,

*Middleton*  
*assembles*  
*some Troops*  
*in Scotland.*

“ that, before the King should be received, albeit  
 “ they had declared his Right by Succession, he  
 “ should first sign the Covenant, submit to the Kirk’s  
 “ Censure, renounce the Sins of his Father’s House,  
 “ and the iniquity of his Mother, with other things  
 “ of the like Nature.” All which Information arrived  
 at the same time with the Commissioners, that they  
 who were about the King, might not be too much  
 Exalted with their Master’s being declared King of  
 one of his three Kingdoms. And it was very manifest,  
 by all that passed then and afterwards, that the Mar-  
 quis of *Argyle* meant only to satisfy the People, in  
 declaring that they had a King, without which they  
 could not be satisfied, but that such conditions should  
 be put upon him, as he knew, he would not submit to;  
 and so he should be able, with the concurrence of the  
*Kirk*, to Govern the Kingdom, till, by *Cromwell*’s  
 assistance and advice, he might reverse that little  
 approach he had made towards Monarchy by Pro-  
 claiming a King.

B O O K  
 XII.

It was a great Misfortune to the King, and which al-  
 ways attends Courts which labor under great wants and  
 necessities, that, whilst the greatest Union imaginable  
 amongst the few Friends he had was necessary, and of  
 too little Power to buoy him up from the distresses  
 which overwhelmed him, there was yet so great a  
 Faction, and Animosity amongst them, that destroyed  
 any the most probable design that could offer itself; as  
 it now fell out with reference to *Scotland*, which, if  
 united, might yet be able to give Reputation at least,  
 if not a vigorous Assistance to the King’s Interest.

Factions in  
 the King’s  
 Court with  
 reference to  
*Scotland*,

The Marquis of *Mountrose*, who hath been men-

The Marquis

B O O K

XII.

of Montrose  
arrives in  
France :

tioned before, had been obliged by the late King to lay down his Arms; and after he had performed such wonderful Actions in *Scotland*, and left that Kingdom upon his Majesty's first coming into the *Scottish Army* to *New-Castle*, had first arrived in *France* and had not such a Reception from the Queen of *England*, and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable Services he had performed for the King had merited. The truth is, he was somewhat elated with the great Actions he had done; which, upon his first coming to *Paris*, he caused to be published in a full Relation in Latin, dedicated to the Prince of *Wales*; in which, as his own Person, Courage, and Conduct, was well extolled, so the Reputation of all the rest of that Nation (upon whose Affections the Queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and depressed; which obliged the Queen, and the Prince, to look less graciously upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much disturbance at it. He was then a Man of *éclat*, had many Servants, and more Officers, who had served under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the Queen should enable him to maintain with some Lustre, by a liberal assignation of Monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in straits enough, and never open-handed, and used to pay the best Services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her Graces were still more towards those who were like to do Services, than to those who Had done them. So that after a long attendance, and some overtures made by him to Cardinal *Mazarin*, to raise an Army for the Service of

that King, which he did not think were received with that regard his great name deserved, the Marquis left B O O K  
XII. *France*, and made a Journey into *Germany* to the Emperor's Court, desiring to see Armies, till he could come to command them; and was returned to *Brussels*, about the time that the Prince came back into *Holland* with the Fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito* for some time, till he heard of the Murder of the late King. Then he sent to the King with the tender of his Service, and to know, "if his Majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring any prejudice to his Majesty; and if so, that he would send over the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Severberg*, a Town in *Flanders*, where he was at present to expect him, and had matters to communicate to him of much importance to his Majesty's Service." Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his Majesty's pleasure, or out of some vanity, that he might seem to come to the King, after the coldness he had met at *Paris*, by a kind of Treaty, the King commanded the Chancellor presently to go to him; and "if he could," without exasperating him (which he had no mind to do) wished, "he might be persuaded rather for some time to suspend his coming to the *Hague*, than presently to appear there;" which was an injunction very disagreeable to the Chancellor; who in his judgment believed his Majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that Nation in his esteem.

The sudden violent frost, which shut up all the Rivers in less than four-and-twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a short time



B O O K

XII.

The Chan-  
cellor of the  
Exchequer  
sent to confer  
with him in a  
Village near  
the Hague.

after, and upon another Message from him, they met at a Village three or four miles off the *Hague*; whither the Marquis was come. The Chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left *Oxford*, when he seemed to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgment of other Men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal Actions, won so many Battles, and in truth made so great a noise in the world, that there appeared no less alteration to be in his humor, and discourse, than there had been in his Fortune. He seemed rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the King, and how to make a Party that would be fast to him, than out of any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his Majesty. There was yet no news from *Scotland* since the Murder of the King, and he seemed to think of nothing but that the King would presently send him thither with some Forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that Night together in Conference, and the next Morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or some where else, until he might give him Notice, what the King's sense should be of the matters discoursed between them; insisting principally, "that, if his going into *Scotland* should be thought presently to be necessary, it would then be as necessary, that he should not be taken notice of publicly to have been with the King:" with which reason he seemed satisfied; and promised "not to come to the *Hague*, till he should

“ first receive advice from the Chancellor.” But when he heard of the Commissioners being come from *Scotland*, and of the other Lords arrival there, he would no longer defer his Journey thither, but came to the *Hague* well attended by Servants and Officers, and presented himself to the King; who received him with a very good countenance.

B O O K  
XII.

The Marquis  
comes to the  
Hague.

There were at this time in the *Hague*, the Commissioners who came from the Council and the Kirk to invite the King into *Scotland*, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and others of the Nobility of that Faction, who were now as odious, and as much persecuted by that Party, which then governed *Scotland*, and which in that manner invited the King, as any Men were who had served the King from the beginning. There was also the Marquis of *Mountrose*, with more of the Nobility, as the Earls of *Seaford*, and *Kinnoul*, and others, who adhered to *Mountrose*, and believed his clear Spirit to be most like to advance the King's Service. Of these three Parties, it might reasonably have been hoped that the two last, being equally persecuted by the Power that governed, should have been easily United to have Suppressed the other. But it was a business too hard for the King to bring it to pass; and he could as easily have persuaded the Parliament to reject *Cromwell*, as the Lords of the *Engagement*, and those who had joined with Duke *Hamilton*, to be reconciled to *Mountrose*: so that when the King hoped to have drawn all the *Scottish* Nobility together, to have consulted what Answer he should give to the Messages he had received from

The Parties  
of the Scots  
now at the  
Hague.

**B O O K** the Council and the Kirk with which they themselves  
**XII.** were enough offended, those Lords of the *Engage-ment* did not only refuse to meet with the Lord *Mountrose*, but, as soon as he came into the Room where they were, though his Majesty himself was present, they immediately withdrew, and left the Room; and had the confidence to desire the King, “ that the Marquis of *Mountrose* (whom they called “ *James Graham*) might be forbidden to come into “ his Majesty’s Presence, or Court, because he stood “ excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, and de- “ graded and forfeited by the Judicatory of that King- “ dom.” This Proposition and Demand they made confidently in writing under their hands, and abounded so much in this sense, that a Learned and Worthy *Scottish* Divine, Dr. *Wishart*, who was then Chaplain to a *Scottish* Regiment in the Service of the States, being appointed to Preach before the King on the *Sunday* following, they formally besought the King, “ that he would not suffer him to Preach before him, “ nor to come into his Presence, because he stood “ Excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*,” for having refused to take the Covenant; though it was known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that Divine was, that they knew he was the Author of the excellent Relation of the Lord *Mountrose*’s Actions in *Scotland*. This carriage and behaviour of those Lords appeared ridiculous to all sober Men, that any Men should have the presumption to accuse those who had served the King with that Fidelity, and were only branded by those Rebellious Judicatories for having performed their duties of

Allegiance, and to demand that the King himself should condemn them for having served his Father: which made those of his Majesty's Council full of indignation at their Insolence, and his Majesty himself declared his being offended, by using the Marquis of *Mountrose* with the more countenance, and hearing the Doctor Preach with the more attention. But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his Majesty's desire being frustrated, of receiving the joint advice of the Nobility of that Kingdom in an affair that so much concerned himself and them; and besides the displeasure, and distance, that it caused between them and the King's Council (who thought the *Scottish* Lords might as reasonably move the King, that They might be removed, who lay under the same brand, and reproaches in *England* for adhering to the Crown, as the other did in *Scotland*) the King had reason to be troubled with another apprehension, which was, that the Marquis of *Mountrose* (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other Persons said or did) would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon those Persons whom he contemned too much; and so that the Peace of the Country, where his Majesty was but a Guest, would be violated by his Subjects, as it were in his own sight; which would make his absence from thence, the more desirable.

He, to whom this unreasonable Animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great Fomentor, and Prosecutor of it, was the Earl of *Lautherdale*; whose fiery Spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the Council conferring one day with him upon a Subject that could not put him into



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passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desired him "to inform him, what foul Offence the  
" Marquis of *Mountrose* had ever committed, that  
" should hinder those to make a conjunction with  
" him, who, in respect of the Rebels were in as de-  
" perate a condition as himself, and who could not  
" more desire the King's Restoration than he did."

Earl of Lau-  
ther's life's  
dispute  
against  
*Mountrose*.

The Earl told him calmly enough, "that he could  
" not imagine, or conceive the Barbarities and Inhu-  
" manities *Mountrose* was guilty of, in the time he  
" made a War in *Scotland*; that he never gave Quar-  
" ter to any Man, but pursued all the Advantages he  
" ever got, with the utmost outrage and Cruelty:  
" that he had in one Battle killed fifteen hundred of  
" one Family, of the *Campbells*, of the blood and name  
" of *Argyle*, and that he had utterly rooted out several  
" Names, and entire noble Families." The other told  
him, "that it was the Nature and Condition of that  
" War, that Quarter was given on neither side;  
" that those Prisoners which were taken by the  
" *Scots*, as once they did take some Persons of Honor  
" of his Party, were afterwards in cold blood hanged  
" reproachfully, which was much worse than if they  
" had been killed in the Field;" and asked him, "if  
" *Mountrose* had ever caused any Man to die in  
" cold Blood, or after the Battle was ended; since  
" what was done in it *flagrante*, was more to be im-  
" puted to the fierceness of his Soldiers, than to his  
" want of humanity." The Earl confessed, "that he  
" did not know he was guilty of any thing but what  
" was done in the Field;" but concluded with more  
passion, "that his behaviour there was so Savage, that

“*Scotland* would never forgive him.” And in other Company, where the same Subject was debated, he swore with great passion, “that though he wished nothing more in this World than to see the King Restored, he had much rather that he should never be Restored, than that *James Graham* should be permitted to come into the Court:” of which Declaration of his the King was informed by *William Legg* and Sir *William Armorer*, who were both present at the *Hague*, and in the Company, when he said it.

There was at that time in the *Hague* the Lord *Newburgh*, who, after the Murder of the late King, was compelled together with his Wife, the Lady *Aubigny*, to fly out of *England*, *Cromwell* every day making discoveries of correspondencies which had been between the King and them. And thereupon they made an escape from thence, and came to the *Hague*. That Lord having been too young to have had a part in the former War, had been then sent by his Majesty’s direction, to be bred in *France*; from whence he returned not till his Majesty was in the hands of the *Scottish Army*; and from that time he performed all the Offices of Fidelity; and Duty to the King, that a generous and worthy Person could find any opportunity for: with which his Majesty was abundantly satisfied and pleased: and he now Transported himself and his Wife into *Holland*, that he might leave her there, and himself attend the King in any Expedition.

This Lady was a Woman of a very great Wit, and most trusted and conversant in those Intrigues, which at that time could be best managed and carried on by Ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all

**B O O K** Companies: and so she had not been a stranger to the  
**XII.** most secret Transactions with the *Scots*, and had much  
Conversation with the Lord *Lanrick*, during the time  
the King was at *Hampton-Court*, and whilst he stayed  
afterwards in *London* when the King was Imprisoned  
in the Isle of *Wight*; and being now both in the *Hague*,  
they had much Conversation together. She had like-  
wise had long Acquaintance, and Friendship with  
one of the Council, who, she knew, had been  
as much trusted as any by the Father, and was  
believed to have Credit with the present, King,  
She lamented those Divisions amongst the *Scots*,  
which every Body spoke of, and every Body knew  
the disorder they produced in the King's Councils;  
and said, "she desired nothing more, than that there  
" were a good understanding between Duke *Hamil-*  
" *ton* and Him; which," she said, "she was sure would  
" easily be, if they two had but once a frank Confe-  
" rence together." The other, who indeed had an  
esteem for the Duke, seemed very desirous of it: and  
she thereupon told him, that "the Duke had expres-  
" sed to her, that he would be willing to embrace the  
" occasion:" and it was so concerted, that within a  
day or two, they met as by chance at her Lodgings.  
And she so dexterously introduced them to a Civility  
towards each other, and to express their Inclinations  
to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general Con-  
versation there, to which she left them, and went her-  
self abroad, they parted with fair professions of future  
good Will; and the other promised to visit the Duke  
the next morning early, that they might have the  
more time without being interrupted, and he was

with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the Duke having commanded his Servant to tell any who came to visit him, that he was asleep. The other, spoke of the Proclamation, and the manner of inviting the King into *Scotland*, and of the strange Spirit that possessed those who governed there, and persuaded them to imagine it possible, that the King could ever be prevailed with to take the Covenant, or that it could be of Advantage to him to do so; since it could not but much alienate the Affections of all that Party in *England* that had served his Father, upon whom he ought chiefly to depend for his Restoration to the Government of that Kingdom." Then he spoke of "the differences and jealousies which were between those of that Nation who had an equal desire to serve the King, and seemed to be equally prosecuted by the Party that now prevailed, which had excluded both;" and wished "that some Expedient might be found out to Unite all those; and particularly that his Grace and the Marquis of *Mountrose* might be reconciled; towards which, he said, he was sure that the Marquis had great Inclination, and had always esteemed him a Man of Honor; which appeared by the Book which was published, where he was always worthily mentioned, though he had not dealt so well with many others."

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XII.  
Conference  
between Duke  
Hamilton and  
an English  
Privy Coun-  
sellor concern-  
ing the Affairs  
of Scotland.

When the Duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the first part, "concerning the Proclamation, and the manner of inviting the King to come to them, he was not to make any



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“ other judgement by it, than only of the Person of  
 “ the Marquis of *Argyle*; who, with the Assistance of  
 “ some few Ministers, and others his Creatures, did  
 “ at present Govern: that *Argyle* well knew there  
 “ was an absolute necessity, in respect of the whole  
 “ People, to Proclaim the King after the Murder of  
 “ his Father; and therefore he could find no other  
 “ way to keep him from coming thither, but by  
 “ clogging the Proclamation and Message with those  
 “ unworthy Expressions, which might deter him  
 “ from putting himself into their hands; which *Argyle*  
 “ did not wish he should do, because in his absence he  
 “ was sure he should Govern all, being well agreed  
 “ with *Cromwell* how the Government should be  
 “ carried; and so the King might be kept out, *Crom-*  
 “ *well* would support him against all other Parties;  
 “ but that they both knew well enough, that if his  
 “ Majesty were once there, the whole Nation would  
 “ stick to him and obey him.” He confessed, “ that  
 “ there was generally so great a Superstition for the  
 “ Covenant, that whosoever should speak against it  
 “ for the present, would lose all credit, though he did  
 “ acknowledge it had done much Mischief, and  
 “ would do more whilst it should be insisted upon;”  
 “ but, he said, “ that must be a work of time, and  
 “ an effect of the King’s Government; which would  
 “ find it necessary, in many other respects, to lessen  
 “ the power of the Ministers; which being lessened,  
 “ the Reverence of the Covenant would quickly fall  
 “ too; and till then He, and all Men, must have  
 “ patience.” For the second, he said, “ he wished  
 “ heartily that there could be a Union of all Parties

“ which desired the King’s Restoration, and that the  
“ Animosity against the Marquis of *Mountrose* might  
“ be extinguished. For his own part, that he had only  
“ one Quarrel against him, which was that, by his  
“ unjust Calumnies and Prosecution, he had driven  
“ him into Rebellion; which nothing else could have  
“ done. And for that he always asked God forgive-  
“ nefs from his Heart, and desired nothing more than  
“ to repair his fault by losing his life for the King; and  
“ would, with all his Heart, join to morrow with  
“ the Marquis of *Mountrose*, in carrying on the King’s  
“ Service, though he did believe, in that conjuncture,  
“ the Animosity against the Marquis was so great,  
“ that if he should declare such an Inclination, all his  
“ own Friends would fall from him, and abhor him.”  
He said, “ his own Condition was very hard; for  
“ that having been always bred up in the Church of  
“ *England*, for which he had a great Reverence, he  
“ was forced to comply with the Covenant; which  
“ he perfectly detested, and looked upon it as the ruin  
“ of his Nation; and would be as glad as any Man  
“ of a good opportunity to declare against it.” But,  
said he, “ I dare not say this; and if I did, I should  
“ have no power or credit to serve the King. There is”  
said he, “ a very worthy Gentleman, who Lodges  
“ in this House, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, my Friend  
“ and my Kinsman; who, upon my Conscience, loves  
“ me heartily; and yet I dare say nothing of this to  
“ him, either against the Covenant, or for the Mar-  
“ quis of *Mountrose*: and, if I should, I believe he  
“ would rather chuse to kill me, than to join with  
“ me: so much he is transported with prejudice in

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“ both these particulars, and so incapable to hear  
 “ reason upon either of those Arguments, though, in  
 “ all other things, few Men have a better Understand-  
 “ ing, or can discourse more reasonably.”

Whilst they continued in all possible freedom in this conference, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, who it seems was informed of the other's being there, came in his Night-Gown into the Chamber, and so broke off the discourse. The other, after sitting some time in general Conversation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the Duke and him. But as himself told the Lady *Aubigney*, who shortly after died there, “ he could not, without giving jealousy to his Friend  
 “ *Lautherdale*, which he had no mind to do, spend  
 “ so much time with the other in private as he could  
 “ have been willing to have done :” and the death of that Lady lessened the opportunities.

In this unsteady and irresolute condition of the King's Council, it was very manifest, that, how long soever his Majesty should defer the resolution, to what place he would remove, he should not be able to stay long in the place where he was. The States especially those of *Holland*, let tell somewhat every day in their Councils, and Consultations, “ that the King's residing  
 “ in the *Hague* would be very inconvenient to them ;” and it was the great Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from sending a Message directly to his Majesty, to desire him, “ that he would depart from that Country,  
 “ as soon as he could.” And there happened an Accident at this time, which made the resolution necessary, and would inevitably have drawn on that Message, which had yet been kept back,

It was touched before, that there was a purpose at *London*, to send over an Envoy from thence into *Holland*, to prepare the way for a farther good Intelligence, and Negotiation, which might end in a firm Peace, and a reciprocal Alliance between the two Republics. To that purpose one *Doristlaus*, a Dr. in the Civil Law, was named; who, being born in *Delft* in *Holland*, had been bred at *Leyden*, and afterwards lived long in *London*, having been received into *Gresham*-College as a Professor in one of those Chairs which are endowed for public Lectures in that Society, and had been, from the beginning of the Troubles, in the exercise of the Judge-Advocate's Office in the Earl of *Essex*'s Army. In this conjuncture this Man arrived at the *Hague*, and took his Lodging in a House where Strangers used to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwise for their better accommodation. Whilst he was at Supper, the same Evening that he came to the Town, in Company of many others who used to eat there, half a dozen Gentlemen entered the Room with their Swords drawn, and required those who were at the Table "not to stir; for that there was no harm intended to any but the Agent who came from the Rebels in *England*, who had newly murdered their King." And one of them, who knew *Doristlaus*, pulled him from the Table, and killed him at his Feet: and thereupon they all put up their Swords, and walked leisurely out of the House, leaving those who were in the Room, in much amazement and consternation. Though all who were engaged in the Enterprize, went quietly away, and so out of the Town, infor-

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*Doristlaus*, an  
Agent of the  
Parliament,  
killed at the  
*Hague* by some  
Scottish Men.



**B O O K** much as no one of them was ever apprehended, or  
**XII.** called in Question, yet they kept not their own  
 counsel so well (believing they had done a very  
 Heroic act) but that it was generally known they  
 were all *Scottish Men*, and most of them Servants, or  
 Dependents upon the Marquis of *Mountrose*.

The King was exceedingly troubled and perplexed  
 with this Accident, which he could not foresee, and  
 easily discerned that it would be applied to his pre-  
 judice; and that the States could not but highly resent  
 it, in many respects; that the Man who was killed,  
 was in truth their own Subject, and employed to them,  
 as a public Minister, by those with whom they had no  
 mind to have any Quarrel. Upon all which his Ma-  
 jesty concluded, that his presence there, would quick-  
 ly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides,  
 that there had been the same night some quarrels,  
 and fighting in the Streets between some Servants of  
 the King, and some Gentlemen of the Town; in  
 which a Son of one of the States was dangerously  
 hurt, though he recovered afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded  
 upon these disorders, to which they had not been  
 accustomed, with great gravity, and more than  
 ordinary respect to the King. They were highly of-  
 fended with what was past, and sensible what expos-  
 tulations, and clamor for Justice they must expect,  
 and sustain from *England*, and what reproaches they  
 must undergo for suffering all those who had been  
 guilty of such a Crime, to escape the Ministers of  
 Justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as  
 a great scandal to their Government: Yet they pro-  
 ceeded

ceeded very slowly in their Inquisition, and with such formalities as were usual (and which could bring no prejudice to the Offenders; who were either gone out of their Dominions, or concealed themselves in other Towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discovered) and without so much reflection upon the King, as if they believed that the guilty Persons had any relation to his Service: yet they took notice of “the Multitude of Strangers which were in  
 “the Town, and how impossible it would be for  
 “them to preserve the Peace, and good Government  
 “thereof, if such resort were not restrained.” They aggravated exceedingly “the indignity that had been  
 “offered to the State itself, in the attempt that had  
 “been made upon a Person under Their Protection,  
 “and for whose safety the Public faith was, upon the  
 “matter, engaged;” with insinuation enough, “that  
 “it would be fit for the King to remove from thence.” Of all which his Majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than to expect a plain Injunction from them to do so. He found this the more necessary to be done, since from the time that the *Scottish* Commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuse into the opinions of that People,  
 “that they were sent from the Kingdom of *Scotland*,  
 “that was entirely and unanimously at his Majesty’s  
 “disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to  
 “take possession of his Government there, where  
 “there was already an Army preparing to Assist him  
 “towards the recovery of his other Dominions; but  
 “that there was a Party of evil Counsellors about his

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**B O O K** " Majesty, who dissuaded him from accepting that  
**XII.** " their Invitation, except they would be content to  
 " change the Government of their Church, and to  
 " establish Episcopacy there again." And by these  
 insinuations they persuaded many of the States to  
 believe, that the defence of Bishops, for whom they  
 had no regard, was the sole difference between the  
 King and Them, which kept the King from going  
 into *Scotland*: So that the King was not without some  
 apprehension, that by that mistake and false Informa-  
 tion, the States might give him advice to accept the  
*Scots* Invitation. And therefore he sent to the States  
 of *Holland*, " that he had a desire to say somewhat to  
 " them, if they would assign him an Audience the  
 " next day;" which they readily did.

The King  
 gives a visit  
 to the States  
 of *Holland*,  
 and delivers  
 them a Me-  
 morial.

The King was received in the same manner he had  
 been formerly, and being conducted into the Room  
 of Council, after a short Compliment, he delivered a  
 Paper to them, which he desired might be read, and  
 that he might receive their advice thereupon as soon  
 as they pleased. The Memorial contained, in the first  
 place, his Majesty's acknowledgment of the civilities  
 he had received there, and his desire " that by them  
 " the States - General ( who were not at that time  
 assembled ) " might be informed of such his Majesty's  
 " sense of their kindness; especially in the full and  
 " high detestation they had expressed of the impious,  
 " and unparalleled Murder of his Royal Father, of  
 " Blessed Memory, their fast and unshaken Ally, by  
 " which the Forms and Rules of all kind of Go-  
 " vernment were no less violated and dissolved, than  
 " that of Monarchy: that he came to inform them

“ that he did intend, in a short time, so to dispose of  
“ his Person, as might with God’s blessing most pro-  
“ bably advance his Affairs ; and that for the better  
“ doing thereof, and that he might in so important an  
“ Affair receive their particular advice, he should  
“ impart to them the true state and condition of his  
“ several Dominions. That he needed not inform  
“ them of the deplorable condition of his Kingdom  
“ of *England*, where the hearts and affections of his  
“ Loyal Subjects were so depressed, and kept under  
“ by the power and cruelty of those who had Mur-  
“ dered their late Sovereign, and who every day  
“ gave fresh and bloody instances of their Tyranny,  
“ to fright Men from their Allegiance, that for the  
“ present no Man could believe that miserable King-  
“ dom could be fit for his Majesty to trust his Person  
“ in : that in *Scotland*, it is very true, that his Majesty  
“ is proclaimed King, but with such limitations, and  
“ restrictions against the exercise of his Royal power,  
“ that in truth they had only given him the Name,  
“ and denied him the Authority : that above five  
“ parts of six of the Nobility and chief Gentry of that  
“ Kingdom, were likewise excluded from their just  
“ Right, and from any part in the Administration of  
“ the Public affairs ; so that that Kingdom seemed not  
“ sufficiently prepared for his Majesty’s reception ;  
“ but that he hoped, and doubted not, that there  
“ would be in a short time a perfect Union, and right  
“ understanding between all his Subjects of that his  
“ Kingdom, and a due submission and obedience from  
“ them all to his Majesty, for that he was resolved  
“ ( and had never had the least purpose to the con-



B O O K “ trary ) to preserve and maintain the Government  
 XII. “ of Church and State in that Kingdom as it is estab-  
 “ lished by the Laws thereof, without any violation  
 “ or alteration on his part : so that there could be no  
 “ difference between him and his Subjects of that  
 “ Kingdom, except they should endeavour, and press  
 “ his Majesty to alter the Laws and Government of  
 “ his other Kingdoms ; which as it would be very  
 “ unreasonable to desire, so it is not in his power to  
 “ do if he should content, and join with his Subjects  
 “ of *Scotland* to that purpose : which made him con-  
 “ fident, that, when they had thoroughly weighed  
 “ and considered what was good for themselves, as  
 “ well as for Him, they would acquiesce with enjoying  
 “ the Laws and Privileges of that Kingdom, without  
 “ desiring to infringe or impose upon those of their  
 “ Brethren and Neighbours.” And his Majesty de-  
 “ sired the States, “ that if any Persons had endeavour-  
 “ ed to make any impressions upon them, that he  
 “ hath, or ever had other intentions or desires, with  
 “ reference to his Subjects of *Scotland*, than what  
 “ himself now expressed to them to have, that they  
 “ would give no credit to them : and assured them,  
 “ that they should always find him constant to those  
 “ resolutions, and especially, that all ways and means  
 “ which might lead to the advancement and propaga-  
 “ tion of the Protestant Religion, should be so heart-  
 “ ily embraced by him, that the world should have  
 “ cause to believe him to be worthy of his Title of  
 “ *Defender of the Faith*, which he valued as his greatest  
 “ Attribute.”

This being the true present condition of his two

Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and it being necessary for his Majesty, to give life to the afflicted State of his affairs by his own Personal activity and vigor, he told them, "there remained only, that he should impart to them the like State of his other Kingdom of *Ireland*; which had likewise sent to him, and desired him to repair thither with great importunity: that the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Lieutenant there, had concluded a Peace with the Roman-Catholics; and that thereby his Majesty was entirely possessed of three parts of four of that his large and fruitful Kingdom, and of the Command of good Armies, and of many good Ships to be joined to his own Fleet; and that he had reason to hope and to believe that *Dublin* itself, and the few other places, which had submitted to the Rebellious power in *England*, either already were, upon the knowledge of that odious Parricide, returned to their Allegiance, or would speedily be reduced; of which he expected every day to receive Advertisement; which if it should fall out, yet he foresaw many objections might be made against his going thither, not only in regard of the difficulty and danger of his passage, but of the jealousies which would arise upon the large concessions which were made unto the Roman-Catholics of that Kingdom; which could not be avoided." And having thus given them a clear Information of the State of his three Kingdoms, his Majesty concluded with his desire, that the States would give him their advice as freely, to which of them he should repair; and that they would give him all necessary assistance that he might prosecute their Counsel."

BOOK  
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Many Men feared, that the King would have brought great prejudice to himself by this Communication, and, upon the matter, obliged himself to follow their Advice; which they apprehended would be contrary to his own Judgment. For nothing was more commonly discoursed among the *Dutch*, and by many of the States themselves, than “that the King ought, “without delay, to throw himself into the Arms of “*Scotland*, and to gratify them in all they desired: “that Bishops were not worth the contending for; “and that the supporting Them, had been the ruin “of his Father, and would be His, if he continued in “the same obstinacy.” But the King had reason to believe that they would not so much concern themselves in his broken Affairs, as to give him advice what to do: and it was necessary for him to get a little more time, upon some occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a positive resolution which way to steer: for though, in his own opinion, *Ireland* was the place to which he was to repair, yet he knew that notwithstanding the Peace that was made, there were several Parties still in Arms there, besides those who adhered to the Parliament, who refused to submit to that Peace. Though the general Council at *Kilkenny* (which had been always looked upon as the Representative of the Confederate Catholics of that Kingdom, and to which they had always submitted) had fully consented to the Treaty of Peace with the Lord Lieutenant, yet *Owen O Neile*, who had the Command of all the *Irish* in *Ulster*, and who was looked upon as the best General they had, totally refused to submit to it, and positively protested

against it, as not having provided for their Interest; and the Council was not sorry for his separation, there being little less animosity between those of *Ulster* and the other *Irish*, than was between them both and the *English*: and they knew that *O Neile* more insisted upon recompence in Lands and Preferments, than upon any provision that concerned Religion itself. Then the *Scots* in *Ulster*, who were very numerous, and under good discipline, and well provided with Arms and Ammunition, would not submit to the Commands of the Lord Lieutenant; but were resolved to follow the Example of their Country-men, and to see the King admitted and received, as well as proclaimed, before they would submit to his Authority: which made the Marquis of *Ormond* the less troubled at the Obstinacy of *O Neile* (though he had used all the means he had to draw him in) since he presumed the *Scots* and He would mortify each other, during the time that he should spend in making himself strong enough to suppress them both: For the *Scots*, who would not join with the Marquis, were very vigorous in prosecuting the War against *O Neile*, and the *Irish* of *Ulster*. These Divisions, Factions, and Confusions in *Ireland*, made the King the more solicitous that his Council should be unanimous for his going thither, at least that the *Scots*, how virulent soever against each other, should all concur in their Advice, “that it was not yet seasonable for him to go “for *Scotland*,” which made him labor so much to bring the *Hamiltonians*, and those who followed *Mountrose*, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it jointly to the



B O O K King in Council : but it is said before how impossible  
 XII. it was to obtain that Conjunction.

When the King found, that it was not possible to bring the Lords of the *Scottish* Nation together to confer upon the Affairs of that Kingdom, he thought to have drawn them severally, that is, those of the *Engagement* by themselves, and the Marquis of *Mountrose* with His Friends by themselves, to have given him their Advice in the presence of his Council, that so, upon Debate thereof between them, his Majesty might the more maturely have determined what he was to do. The Marquis of *Mountrose* expressed a great willingness to give his Majesty satisfaction this, or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning Things, or Persons, before any Body, and in any place. But the Lords of the *Engagement* positively refused to deliver their opinion, but to the King himself, and not in the presence of his Council; which, they said, “ would be to confess a kind of subordination of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was independent on the Council of *England* ;” and Duke *Hamilton* told the Counsellor, with whom he had before so freely conversed, and who expostulated with him upon it, “ that it was the only ground of the heavy judgment in Parliament against the Earl of *Traquair*, that, having been the King’s Commissioner in *Scotland*, he gave account to the King of transactions, and of the affairs of that Kingdom, at the Council-Table in *England* ; whereof he was likewise a Member ; so jealous that Kingdom was, and still is, of their Native Privileges ;” and therefore desired, “ that he might not be pressed to do what had been so penal to another in his own sight.”

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The King satisfied himself with having all their opinions delivered to himself, subscribed under all their hands, which every one consented to: though most of them would have been glad that the King would have gone into *Scotland*, upon what concessions soever; because they all believed His presence would easily turn all, and that they should be quickly restored to their Estates, which they cared most for; yet no body presumed to give that advice, or seemed to think it seasonable. So that the King resumed the former Debate of going directly for *Ireland*, and direction was given for providing Ships, and all other things necessary for that Voyage. There remained only one doubt, whether his Majesty should take *France* in his way, that he might see his Mother, who by Letters and Messages pressed him very earnestly so to do; or whether he should embark in *Holland* directly for *Ireland*; which would be less loss of time, and might be done early in the Spring, before the Parliament's Fleet should put out to Sea.

They who did not wish that the Queen should exercise any power over the King, or have too much credit with him, were against his going into *France*, as "an occasion of spending more time than his Affairs" would permit, and an obligation to make a greater "Expense than he had, or knew where to have, means" to defray:" and they thought it an Argument of moment, "that from the time of the Murder of his" Father, the King had never received Letter of condolment from *France*, nor the least invitation to go "thither." On the other side, they who wished, and hoped that the Queen would have such an influence

B O O K upon the King that his Council should have less credit  
 XII. with him, desired very much that his Majesty would make *France* his way. The *Scots* desired it very much, believing they should find her Majesty very propitious to their Counsels, and inclined to trust their undertakings; and they were very sure that *Mountrose* would never go to *Paris*, or have credit with the Queen.

The Prince of *Orange*, and the Princess Royal his Wife, had a great desire to gratify the Queen, and that the King should see her in the way; and proposed “that his Majesty might appoint a place, where the  
 “Queen and He might meet, without going to *Paris*;  
 “and, after three or four days stay together, his Ma-  
 “jesty might hasten his Journey to some convenient  
 “Port, from whence he might embark for *Ireland* by  
 “a shorter passage than from *Holland*; and the Prince  
 “of *Orange* would appoint two Ships of War, to at-  
 “tend his Majesty in that *French* Port, before he  
 “should get thither. His Majesty inclined this way, without positively resolving upon it; yet directed  
 “that his own Goods of bulk, and his inferior Ser-  
 “vants, should be presently embarked to take the  
 “directest passage to *Ireland*,” and ordered “that  
 “the rest, who were to wait upon his Person, should  
 “likewise send their Goods and Baggage, and such  
 “Servants who were not absolutely necessary for  
 “their present Service, upon the same Ships for  
 “*Ireland*,” declaring, “that, if he made *France* his  
 “way, he would make all possible haste, and go with  
 “as light a train as he could.” Hereupon two Ships were shortly after provided, and many Persons (and great store of Baggage) embarked for *Ireland*, and

arrived there in safety ; but most of the Persons, and all the Goods, miscarried in their return, when they knew that the King was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

This Resolution being taken, the Lord *Cottington*, who had a just excuse from his Age, being then seventy-five years old, to wish to be in some repose, considered with himself how to become disentangled from the fatigue of those Voyages and Journies, which he saw the King would be obliged to make. In *Holland* he had no mind to stay, having never loved that People, nor been loved by them ; and he thought the Climate itself was very pernicious to his health, by reason of the Gout, which frequently visited him. *France* was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was looked upon as one who had been always addicted to *Spain*, and no friend to the Crown of *France* ; so that he was willing to find a good occasion to spend the remainder of his age where he had spent so much of his youth, in *Spain*, and where he believed that he might be able to do the King more Service than any other way. And there was newly come to the *Hague* an *English* Gentleman, who had been an Officer in the King's Army, and was in *Madrid* when the News came thither of the Murder of the King : and he related many particulars of the passion and indignation of that Court, upon that occasion, against the Rebels ; that " the King, and all " the Court, put themselves into solemn Mourning : " (and he repeated some Expressions which the King, and *Don Lewis de Haro* had made of tenderness and compassion for our King) and that " the King of *Spain* " spoke of sending an Ambassador to his Majesty."



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Conference  
between the  
Lord Cotting-  
ton and the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer  
concerning the  
King's sending  
an Embassy  
into Spain.

These relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly soever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the Lord *Cottington* took occasion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer (with whom he held a strict Friendship, they living, and keeping House together) of "the ill condition the King was in, and that he ought to think, what Prince's kindness was like to be of most use and benefit to his Majesty, and from whom he might hope to receive a Sum of Money; if not as much as might serve for a Martial Expedition, yet such an annual Exhibition as might serve for his support: that he had already experience of *France*, and knew well the Intelligence that the Cardinal had at that very time with *Cromwell*: but he did verily believe, that if the King of *Spain* were dexterously treated with, and not more asked of him than could consist with his Affairs to spare, a good yearly support might be procured There, and the expectation of it might be worth the King's sending an Ambassador thither." He said, "he was more of that opinion since the King had taken the resolution of going for *Ireland*; where the King of *Spain*'s credit might be of great benefit to him: that *Owen O Neile*, and the old *Irish* of *Ulster*, were still in Arms against the King; and would not submit to the conditions which the general Council of the Confederate Catholics had consented to with the Marquis of *Ormond*: that *O Neile* had been bred in *Spain*, and had a Regiment in *Flanders*, and so must have an absolute dependance upon his Catholic Majesty, for whom all the old *Irish* had ever had a particular

“ devotion ; and if it were only to dispose Him and  
 “ that People to the King’s obedience, and to accept  
 “ those conditions which might conveniently be  
 “ given to them, it were well worth such a Journey ;  
 “ and the King of *Spain* would never refuse to gratify  
 “ the King to the utmost that could be desired in that  
 “ particular.” The Chancellor thought this discourse  
 not unreasonable, and asked him, “ who would be  
 “ fit to be sent thither ?” not imagining that he had  
 “ any thought of going thither Himself He Answered,  
 “ that, if the King would be advised by him, he  
 “ should send them two thither, and he did believe  
 “ they should do him very good Service.”

The Chancellor was weary of the Company he was  
 in, and the business, which, having no prospect but  
 towards despair, was yet rendered more grievous by  
 the continual Contentions and Animosities between  
 Persons. He knew he was not in the Queen’s Favor  
 at all, and should find no respect in that Court. How-  
 ever, he was very scrupulous, that the King might  
 not suspect that he was weary of his Attendance, or  
 that any Body else might believe that he withdrew  
 himself from waiting longer upon so desperate a For-  
 tune. In the end, he told the Lord *Cottington*, ‘ that  
 “ he would only be passive in the point, and refer it  
 “ entirely to Him, if he thought fit to dispose the King  
 “ to like it; and if the King approved it so much as  
 “ to take notice of it to the Chancellor, and commend  
 “ it as a thing he thought for his Service, he would  
 “ submit to his Command.”

The Lord *Cottington*’s Heart was much set upon  
 this employment, and he managed so warily with the

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The King  
declares those  
two to be his  
Ambassadors.

King, and presented the whole Scheme to him so dexterously, that his Majesty was much pleased with it; and shortly after declared his Resolution publicly, “to send the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of “the Exchequer, his Ambassadors Extraordinary “into *Spain*,” and Commanded them “to prepare “their own Commission, and Instructions; and to “begin their Journey as soon as was possible.”

Before the King could begin his own Journey for *France*, and so to *Ireland*, his Majesty thought it necessary, upon the whole prospect of his Affairs with reference to all places, to put his business into as good a method as he could, and to dispose of that number of Officers, and Soldiers, and other Persons, who had presented themselves to be applied to his Service, or to leave them to take the best course they could for their own Subsistence. Of these, many were sent into *Ireland* with the Ships which carried the King's Goods, with recommendation to the Marquis of *Ormond*, “to put them into his Army till the King came “thither.” Since the *Scots* where no better disposed to serve, or receive the King for the present, his Majesty was resolved to give the Marquis of *Mountrose* all the Encouragement he desired to visit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

There was then at the *Hague* *Cornificius Wolfelte*, Ambassador extraordinary from the King of *Denmark* to the States-General; who came with a great Train and great State, and was himself a Man of vanity and ostentation, and took pains to be thought so great a Man by his own Interest, that he did not enough extol the power of his Master; which proved his ruin

after his return. He had left *Denmark* before the News came thither of the Murder of the King, and so he had no Credentials for his Majesty, by reason whereof he could not receive any public formal Audience; but desired "the King's leave that he might, as by accident, be admitted to speak to him at the Queen of *Bohemia's* Court;" where his Majesty used to be every day; and there the Ambassador often spoke to him. The Marquis of *Mountrose* had found means to endear himself much to this Ambassador, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in *Denmark*, if the King would send him thither, and that he might obtain Arms, and Ammunition there for *Scotland*. The Ambassador told him, "that, if the King would write a Letter to him to that purpose, he would presently supply him with some Money and Arms, in assurance that his Majesty, would very well approve of what he should do." The Marquis of *Mountrose* well knew, that the King was not able to supply him with the least proportion of Money to begin his Journey; and therefore he had only proposed, "that the King would give him Letters, in the form he prescribed, to several Princes in *Germany*, whose affections he pretended to know;" which Letters he sent by several Officers, who were to bring the Soldiers or Arms they should obtain, to a Rendezvous he appointed near *Hamburg*; and resolved himself to go into *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in hope to get supplies in both those places, both from the Crowns, and by the contribution of many *Scottish* Officers, who had Command and Estates in those Countries; and to have Credentials, by virtue of



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which he might appear Ambassador extraordinary from the King, if he should find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negotiate his business in private, and without any public Character. All this was resolved before his confidence, at least his familiarity with the Ambassador, was grown less. But, upon the Encouragement he had from him, he moved the King “for his Letter to the Ambassador, to assist the Marquis of *Mountrose* with his Advice, and with his Interest in *Denmark*, and in any other Court, to the end that he might obtain the Loan of Monies, Arms, and Ammunition. and whatever else was necessary to enable the Marquis to prosecute his intended Descent into *Scotland*.” The King, glad that he did not press for ready Money, which he was not able to supply him with, gave him such Letters as he desired to all Persons, and particularly to the Ambassador himself, who, having order from his Master to present the King with a Sum of Money for his present occasions, never informed the King thereof but advised *Mountrose* to procure such a Letter from his Majesty to him; which being done, the Marquis received that Money from him, and likewise some Arms; with which he begun his unfortunate Enterprize; and prosecuted his Journey to *Hamburg*; where he expected to meet his *German* Troops, which he believed the Officers he had sent thither with the King’s Letters would be well able to raise, with the assistance of those Princes to whom they had been sent. But he was carried on by a stronger assurance he had received from some prophecies, and predictions, to which he was naturally given, “that he should by

The Marquis  
of Mountrose  
goes to Ham-  
burgh.

“his

“ his valor recover *Scotland* for the King, and from  
 “ thence conduct an Army that should settle his Ma-  
 “ jesty in all his other Dominions.”

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There had been yet nothing done by the King with reference to *England* since the Murder of his Father; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was so terrible a Consternation, that still possessed the Spirits of that People, that though Men's Affections were greater, and more general for the King, out of the Horror and Detestation they had of the late Parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken Courage; nor was it believed possible for any Man to contribute any thing, at present, for their Deliverance. However, most Men were of opinion, “ that it was necessary for  
 “ the King to publish some Declaration, that he might  
 “ not seem utterly to give over his Claim there; and  
 “ to keep up the Spirits of his Friends.” And many from *England*, who in the midst of their despair would give some Counsel, advised, “ that there might be  
 “ somewhat published by the King that might give  
 “ some Check to the general submitting to the En-  
 “ gagement, which was so universally pressed there.” The King being every day advertised, how much this was desired and expected, and the *Scottish* Lords being of the same opinion, hoping that somewhat might be inserted in it that might favor the Presbyterians, his Majesty proposed at the Council “ that  
 “ there might be some draught prepared of a Procla-  
 “ mation, or Declaration, only with reference to the  
 “ Kingdom of *England* ;” and the Chancellor of the  
 Exchequer, who had been most conversant in Instru-

The Chan-  
 cellor of the  
 Exchequer  
 appointed to  
 make a De-  
 claration re-  
 lating to  
 England.

B O O K XII. ments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, “ that he did not “ know what such a Declaration could contain, and “ therefore that he thought it not seasonable to “ publish any.” The Prince of *Orange* was present at that Council, and whether from his own opinion, or from the Suggestion of the *Scottish* Lords, who were much favored by him, he wished, “ that, in regard of “ the great differences which were in *England* about “ matters of Religion, the King would offer, in this “ Declaration, to refer all matters in controversy concerning Religion to a National Synod; in which “ there should be admitted some Foreign Divines “ from the Protestant Churches;” which, he thought, would be a Popular Clause, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the King believed no objection could be made against it; and so thought fit that such a Clause should be inserted.

Within a short time after the Council was parted, the Prince of *Orange* sent for the Lord *Cottington*, and told him, “ he was not enough acquainted with the “ Chancellor of the Exchequer, but desired him to “ intreat him not to be too sharp in this Declaration, “ the end whereof was to Unite, and Reconcile different Humors; and that he found many had a “ great apprehension, that the sharpness of His Style “ would irritate them much more.” The Chancellor knew well enough that this came from the Lord *Lautherdale*, and he wished heartily that the Charge might be committed to any Body else, protesting, “ that he was never less disposed in his own conceptions, and reflections, to undertake any such Task

“ in his Life ; and that he could not imagine how it  
 “ was possible for the King to publish a Declaration  
 “ at that time (his first Declaration) without much  
 “ sharpness against the Murderers of his Father ;”  
 which no Body could speak against ; nor could he be  
 excused from the Work imposed upon him : and the  
 Prince of *Orange* assured him, “ it was not That kind  
 “ of sharpness which he wished should be declined :”  
 and though he seemed not willing farther to explain  
 himself, it was evident that he wished that there might  
 not be any sharpness against the Presbyterians, for  
 which there was at that time no occasion.

There was one particular, which, without a full and  
 distinct Instruction, the Chancellor could not presume  
 to express. The great end of this Declaration was to  
 confirm the Affection of as many as was possible for the  
 King, and, consequently, as few were to be made  
 desperate, as might consist with the King's Honor, and  
 necessary Justice : so that how far that Clause, which  
 was essential to a Declaration upon this subject, con-  
 cerning the Indemnity of Persons, should extend, was  
 the question. And in this there was difference of  
 opinions ; the most prevalent was, “ that no Persons  
 “ should be excepted from Pardon, but only such  
 “ who had an immediate hand in the execrable Mur-  
 “ der of the King, by being his Judges, and pronoun-  
 “ cing that Sentence, and they who performed the  
 “ Execution.” Others said, they “ knew that some  
 “ were in the List of the Judges, and named by the  
 “ Parliament, who found Excuses to be absent ;” and  
 others, that “ some who were not named, more con-  
 “ trived and contributed to that odious proceeding,



B O O K " than many of the Actors in it." But the resolution  
 XII. was, that the former should be only comprehended.

When the Declaration was prepared, and read at the Board, there was a deep Silence no Man speaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for a second reading it, against which time every Man might be better prepared to speak to it: and in the mean time the Prince of *Orange*, in regard he was not a perfect Master of the *English* Tongue, desired he might have a Copy of it, that he might the better understand it. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer desired, " that not only the Prince of *Orange* might " have a Copy, but that his Majesty would likewise " have one, and, after he should have perused it him- " self, he would show it to any other, who he thought " was fit to advise with;" there being many Lords and other Persons of Quality about him, who were not of the Council: and he moved, " that he might " have liberty himself to Communicate it to some " who were like to make a judgment, how far any " thing of that Nature was like to be acceptable, and " agreeable to the minds of the People;" and named *Herbert* the Attorney-General, and Dr. *Steward*, who was Dean of the Chapel; and His opinion, in all things relating to the Church, the King had been advised by his Father to submit to. All which was approved by the King: and, for that reason, a farther day was appointed for the second reading. The Issue was, that, except two or three of the Council, who were of one and the same opinion of the whole, there were not two Persons who were admitted to the perusal of it, who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception.

Different  
 opinions in the  
 King's Council  
 about it when  
 it was read.

Doctor *Steward*, though a Man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly grieved at the Clause of admitting Foreign Divines into a Synod that was to Consult upon the Church of *England*, that he could not be satisfied by any Arguments that could be given of “the impossibility of any effect, or  
 “that the Parliament would accept the Overture;  
 “and that there could be no danger if it did, because  
 “the Number of those Foreign Divines must be still  
 “limited by the King;” but came one Morning to the Chancellor, with whom he had a Friendship, and protested “he had not slept that Night, out of the  
 “Agony and Trouble, that He, who he knew loved  
 “the Church so well, should consent to a Clause so  
 “much against the Honor of it;” and went from him to the King, to beseech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion “that there were too few excepted  
 “from Pardon; by which the King would not have  
 “Confiscations enough to satisfy, and reward his  
 “Party: and others thought, that there were too  
 “many excepted; and that it was not prudent to  
 “make so many Men desperate; but that it would be  
 “sufficient to except *Cromwell*, and *Bradshaw*, and  
 “three or four more of those whose Malice was most  
 “notorious; the whole Number not to exceed Six.”

The *Scots* did not value the Clause for Foreign Divines, who, they knew, could persuade little in an *English* Synod; but they were implacably offended, that the King mentioned the Government of the Church of *England*, and the Book of Common Prayer, with so much Reverence and Devotion; which was the sharpness they most feared of the Chancellor's

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Upon which it  
was laid aside.

Style, when they thought now the Covenant to be necessary to be insisted upon more than ever. So that, when the Declaration was read at the Board the second time, most Men being moved with the discourses, and fears which were expressed abroad of some ill effects it might produce, it was more faintly Debated, and Men seemed not to think that the publishing any, at this time, was of so much importance, as they formerly had conceived it to be. By all which Men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the King to resolve, and act with that steadiness and resolution, which the most unprosperous Condition doth more require than the State that is less perplexed and entangled. Thus the Declaration slept without farther proposition to publish any.

All things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two Ambassador for *Spain* were very solicitous to begin their Journey, the King being at last resolved not to give his Mother the trouble of making a Journey to meet him, but to go himself directly to *St. Germain's*, where her Majesty was. The Prince of *Orange*, to advance that resolution, had promised to supply the King with twenty thousand pounds; which was too great a Loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the King to discharge the debts He and his Family had contracted at the *Hague*, and to make his Journey. Out of this Sum the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, were to receive so much as was designed to defray their Journey to *Paris*: what was necessary for the discharge of their Embassy, or for making their Journey from

*Paris*, was not yet provided. The King had some hope, that the Duke of *Lorrain* would lend him some Money; which he designed for this service; which made it necessary that they should immediately resort to *Brussels*, to finish that Negotiation, and from thence to prosecute their Journey.

In the soliciting their first despatch at the *Hague*, they made a discovery that seemed very strange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their Journey having been put off some days, only for the receipt of that small Sum, which was to be paid them out of the Money to be lent by the Prince of *Orange*; and *Hemflet* the Prince's chief Officer in such affairs of Money, having been some days at *Amsterdam* to negotiate that Loan, and no Money being returned, they believed that there was some affected delay; and so went to the Prince of *Orange*, who had advised, and was well pleased with that Embassy, to know when that Money would be ready for the King, that he might likewise resolve upon the time for his own Journey. The Prince told them, he believed, "that They, who  
 " knew *London* so well, and had heard so much discourse of the Wealth of *Holland*, would wonder  
 " very much that he should have been endeavouring  
 " above ten days to borrow twenty thousand pounds,  
 " and that the richest Men in *Amsterdam* had promised him to supply him with it, and that one half  
 " of it was not yet provided." He said, "it was not  
 " that there was any question of his credit, which was  
 " very good; and that the security he gave, was as  
 " good as any Body desired, and upon which he



BOOK XII. “ could have double the Sum in less time, if he would  
 “ receive it in Paper, which was the Course of that  
 “ Country; where bargains being made for one  
 “ hundred thousand pounds to be paid within ten  
 “ days, it was never known that twenty thousand  
 “ pounds was paid together in one Town; but by  
 “ Bills upon *Rotterdam*, *Harlem*, the *Hague*, and *Ant-*  
 “ *werp*, and other places, which was as convenient,  
 “ or more, to all Parties; and he did verily believe,  
 “ that though *Amsterdam* could pay a Million within  
 “ a Month, upon any good occasion, yet they would  
 “ be troubled to bring twenty thousand pounds to-  
 “ gether into any one Room; and that was the true  
 “ reason, that the Money was not yet brought to the  
 “ *Hague*; which it should be within few days;” as it  
 was accordingly.

The Ambassadors  
 began their  
 journey.

The Ambassadors took their leave of the King at the *Hague* before the middle of *May*, and had a Yatch from the Prince of *Orange*, that attended them at *Rotterdam*, and transported them with great convenience to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife and his Family were arrived ten days before, and were settled in a good and convenient House; where the Lord *Cottington* and He both Lodged whilst they stayed in that City. There they met the Lord *Jermyn* in his way towards the King, to hasten the King's Journey into *France*, upon the Queen's great importunity. He was very glad they were both come away from the King, and believed he should more easily prevail with his Majesty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days stay at *Antwerp*, they went to *Brussels* to deliver their Credentials both to the Arch-Duke, and

the Duke of *Lorraine*, and to visit the *Spanish* Ministers, and, upon their Landing at *Brussels*, they took it for a good Omen, that they were assured “that *le Brune*, who had been one of the Plenipotentiaries “at the Treaty of *Munster*, on the behalf of the King “of *Spain*, was then in that Town with Credentials “to visit the King, and to condole with him.” They had an audience, the next day, of the Arch-Duke: they performed the Compliments to him from the King, and informed him of their Embassy into *Spain*, and desired his recommendation, and good Offices in that Court; which he, according to his slow, and formal way of speaking, consented to: and they had no more to do with Him, but received the visits from the Officers, in his Name, according to the style of that Court. Their main business was with the Duke of *Lorraine*, to procure Money for their Journey into *Spain*.

They visit the  
Duke of Lor-  
rain at  
*Brussels*.

The Duke was a Prince that lived in a different manner from all other Sovereign Princes in the world: from the time, that he had been driven out of his Country by *France*, he had retired to *Brussels* with his Army, which he kept up very strong; and served the King of *Spain* with it against the *French*, upon such terms, and conditions, as were made, and renewed every year between them; by which he received great Sums of Money yearly from the *Spaniard*, and was sure very rich in Money. He always commanded apart in the field, his Officers received no Orders but from himself: he always agreed at the Council of War what he should do, and his Army was in truth the best part of the *Spanish* Forces. In the Town of

**BOOK** *Brussels* he lived without any order, method, or state of a Prince, except towards the *Spaniards* in his Treaties, and being present in their Councils, where he always kept his full Dignity : otherwise, he lived in a jolly familiarity with the Bourgeois and their Wives, and feasted with them, but scarce kept a Court or any number of Servants, or Retinue. The House wherein he lived was a very ordinary one, and not furnished ; nor was he often there, or easy to be found ; so that the Ambassadors could not easily send to him for an Audience. He received them in a lower Room with great Courtesy and Familiarity ; and visited them at their own Lodging. He was a Man of great wit, and presence of mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no man knew better how to act the Prince. He loved his Money very much ; yet the Lord *Cottington's* dexterity and address, prevailed with him to lend the King two thousand Pistoles ; which was all that was in their view for defraying their Embassy. But they hoped they should procure some supply in *Spain*, out of which their own necessary expenses must be provided for.

There were two *Spaniards*, by whom all the Councils there were governed and conducted, and which the Arch-Duke himself could not control ; the Conde of *Pignoranda* (who was newly come from *Munster*, being the other Plenipotentiary there ; and stayed only at *Brussels*, in expectation of renewing the Treaty again with *France* ; but, whilst he stayed there, was in the highest Trust of all the affairs) and the Conde of *Fuensaldagna*, who was the Governor of the Arms, and commanded the Army next under the Arch-

Duke; which was a subordination very little inferior to the being General. They were both very able and expert men in business, and if They were not very wise men, that Nation had none. The former was a Man of the Robe, of a great wit, and much experience, proud, and, if he had not been a little too pedantic, might very well be looked upon as a very extraordinary Man, and was much improved by the excellent temper of *le Brune* (the other Plenipotentiary) who was indeed a wise Man, and by seeming to defer in all things to *Pignoranda*, governed him. The *Conde of Fuenfaldagna* was of a much better temper, more industry, and more insinuation than *Spaniards* use to have: his greatest Talent lay to Civil business; yet he was the best General of that time to all other offices and purposes, than what were necessary in the hour of Battle, when he was not so present and composed as at all other seasons.

Both these received the Ambassadors with the usual Civilities, and returned their visits to their own Lodging, but seemed not pleased with their Journey to *Madrid*, and spoke much of the necessities that Crown was in, and its disability to assist the King; which the Ambassadors imputed to the influence *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* had upon them both; who remained still under the same Character in *England* he had done for many years before. The same civilities were performed between *le Brune* and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encouraged them to hope well from their Negotiation in *Spain*; acquainted them with his own Instructions, “to give the King all  
“ assurance of the affection of his Catholic Majesty,



BOOK XII. “and of his readiness to do any thing for him that  
 “was in his power.” He said, “he only deferred his  
 “Journey, because he heard that the King intended  
 “to spend some time at *Breda*; and he had rather  
 “attend him There, than at the *Hague*.”

When the Ambassadors had despatched all their business at *Brussels*, and received the Money from the Duke of *Lorrain*, they returned to *Antwerp*; where they were to negotiate for the return of their Monies to *Madrid*; which required very much wariness, the Bills from thence finding now more difficulties at *Madrid*, than they had done in former times.

By the Letters my Lord *Jermyn* brought, and the importunity he used, the King resolved to begin his Journey sooner than he thought to have done, that is sooner than he thought he should have been able, all provisions being to begin to be made both for his Journey into *France*, and from thence into *Ireland*, after the Money was received that should pay for them. But the Queen's impatience was so great to see his Majesty, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Princess Royal his Wife, were as impatient to give her that satisfaction. Though her Majesty could not justly dislike any resolution the King had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into *Ireland*, she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution at all had been taken before she was consulted. She was angry that the Counsellors were chosen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude Her from meddling in the Affairs; all which she imputed principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer: nevertheless she was not

pleased with the design of the Negotiation in *Spain*. For though she had no confidence of his affection to Her, or rather of his complying with all her Commands, yet she had all confidence in his Duty and Integrity to the King, and therefore wished he should be still about his Person, and trusted in his business; which she thought him much fitter for than such a Negotiation, which she believed, out of her natural prejudice to *Spain*, would produce no advantage to the King.

That the Queen might receive some content, in knowing that the King had begun his Journey, the Prince of *Orange*, desired him, "whilst his Servants prepared what was necessary at the *Hague*, that Himself, and that part of his Train that was ready, would go to *Breda*, and stay there till the rest were ready to come up to him;" that being his best way to *Flanders*, through which he must pass into *France*. *Breda* was a Town of the Prince's own, where he had a handsome Palace and Castle, and a place where the King might have many Divertisements. Hither the *Spanish* Ambassador *le Brune*, came to attend his Majesty, and delivered his Master's Compliments to his Majesty, and offered his own Services to him, whilst he should remain in those Provinces; he being at that time designed to remain Ambassador to the united Provinces; as he did; and died shortly after at the *Hague* with a general regret. He was born a Subject to the King of *Spain*, in that part of *Burgundy* that was under his Dominion; and having been from his youth always bred in business, and being a Man of great Parts, and Temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the best Statesmen in Christendom.

B O O K  
XII.

The King  
removes to  
*Breda*.

**B O O K** and who best understood the true interest of all the  
**XII.** Princes of *Europe*.

As soon as the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, heard of the King's being at *Breda*, and that he intended to hasten his Journey for *France*, they resolved, having in truth not yet negotiated all things necessary for their Journey, to stay till the King passed by, and not to go to *St. Germain's* till the first interview, and eclairsifements were passed between the King and Queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what Weather was like to be.

Thence to  
Antwerp :

The King was received at *Antwerp* with great magnificence: he entered in a very rich Coach with six Horses, which the Arch Duke sent a present to him when he came into the *Spanish* Dominions: he was treated there, at the Charge of the City, very splendidly for two days: and went then to *Brussels*, where he was lodged in the Palace, and Royally entertained. But the *French* Army, under the Command of the *Comte de Harcourt*, was two days before set down before *Cambray*; with the News whereof the *Spanish* Council was surpris'd, and in so much disorder, that the Arch-Duke was gone to the Army to *Mons*, and *Valenciennes*, whilst the King was in *Antwerp*; so that the King was received only by his Officers; who performed their parts very well.

Thence to  
Brussels.

Here the *Conde of Pignoranda* waited upon the King in the Quality of an Ambassador, and covered. And his Majesty stay'd here three or four days, not being able suddenly to resolve which way he should pass into *France*. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the *French* thought to have surpris'd that

Town, and to have cast up their Line of Circumval-  
 lation before any Supplies could be put in; but the  
*Conde Fuenfaldagna* found a way to put seven or eight  
 hundred Foot into the Town; upon which the *French*  
 raised the Siege; and so the King made his Journey by  
 the usual way; and, near *Valenciennes*, had an inter-  
 view with the Arch-Duke; and, after some short  
 Ceremonies, continued on his Journey, and Lodged  
 at *Cambray*; where he was likewise treated by the  
*Conde de Garcies*, who was Governor there, and a  
 very civil Gentleman.

BOOK  
 XII.

The King had  
 an interview  
 with the Arch-  
 Duke near  
 Valenciennes.

About a week after the King left *Brussels*, the two  
 Ambassadors prosecuted their Journey for *Paris*;  
 where they stayed only one day, and then went to St.  
*Germain's*; where the King and the Queen his Mother,  
 with both their Families, and the Duke of *Tork'*, then  
 were; by whom they were received graciously. They  
 had no reason to repent their caution in staying so  
 long behind the King, for they found the Court so full  
 of jealousy and disorder, that every Body was glad  
 that they were come. After the first two or three days  
 that the King and Queen had been together, which  
 were spent in tears and lamentations for the great  
 alteration that had happened since their last parting,  
 the Queen begun to confer with the King of his  
 business, and what course he meant to take; in which  
 she found him so reserved, as if he had no mind She  
 should be conversant in it. He made no Apologies to  
 her; which she expected; nor any professions of re-  
 signing himself up to Her advice. On the contrary,  
 upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly,  
 " that he would always perform his Duty towards



B O O K

XII.

“ her with great affection and exactness, but that in  
 “ his business he would obey his own reason and  
 “ judgment;” and did as good as desire her not to  
 trouble herself in his Affairs: and finding her passions  
 strong, he frequently retired from her with some ab-  
 ruptness, and seemed not to desire to be so much in  
 her Company as she expected; and prescribed some  
 new rules to be observed in his own retirement, which  
 he had not been accustomed to.

This kind of unexpected behaviour gave the Queen  
 much trouble. She began to think, that this distance,  
 which the King seemed to affect, was more than the  
 Chancellor of the Exchequer could wish, and that  
 there was some Body else, who did her more differ-  
 vice: insomuch as to the Ladies who were about her,  
 whereof some were very much his Friends, she seemed  
 to wish, that the Chancellor were come. There was a  
 Gentleman, who was newly come from *England*, and  
 who came to the *Hague* after the Chancellor had taken  
 his leave of the King, and had been ever since very  
 close about him, being one of the Grooms of his Bed-  
 Chamber, one Mr. *Thomas Elliot*, a Person spoken  
 of before; whom the King's Father had formerly sent  
 into *France*, at the same time that he resolved the  
 Prince should go for the West, and for no other reason,  
 but that he should not attend upon his Son. And he  
 had given order, “ that if he should return out of  
 “ *France*, and come into the West, the Council should  
 “ not suffer him to be about the Prince;” with whom  
 he thought he had too much credit, and would use it  
 ill; and he had never seen the Prince from the time he  
 left *Oxford* till now. He was a bold Man, and spoke

Mr. Elliot  
 comes to the  
 King his  
 influence upon  
 his Majesty.

all

all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late King which he ought to have had ; and less for the Queen ; though he had great obligations to both ; yet being not so great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as none at all. This Gentleman came to the King just as he left the *Hague*, and both as he was a new-Comer, and as one for whom his Majesty had formerly much kindness, was very well received ; and being one who would receive no injury from his Modesty, made the favor the King showed him as bright, and to shine as much in the Eyes of all Men, as was possible. He was never from the Person of the King, and always whispering in his Ear, taking upon him to understand the sense and opinion of all the Loyal party in *England* : and when he had a mind that the King should think well, or ill of any Man, he told him, “ that he was much beloved by, or very “ odious to all his Party there.” By these insuflions, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the Earl of *Bristol*, who came from *Caen* (where he had hitherto resided ) to kiss his hands, than his own good nature would have inclined him to ; and more to discountenance the Lord *Digby*, and to tell him plainly, “ that he should not serve him in the “ place of Secretary of State ;” in which he had served his Father, and from which Men have seldom been removed upon the Descent of the Crown ; and not to admit either Father or Son to be of his Council ; which was more extraordinary. He told the King, “ it would be the most unpopular thing he could do, “ and which would lose him more hearts in *England* “ than any other thing, if he were thought to be .

B O O K “ governed by his Mother.” And in a Month’s time  
XII. that he had been about the King, he begun already to be looked upon as very like to become the Favorite. He had used the Queen with wonderful neglect when she spoke to him, and had got so much Interest with the King, that he had procured a promise from his Majesty to make Colonel *Windham*, whose Daughter Mr. *Elliot* had Married, Secretary of State; an honest Gentleman, but extremely unequal to that Province; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his Wife had been Nurse to the Prince, who was now King.

In these kind of humors and indispositions the Ambassadors found the Court, when they came to St. *Germain’s*. They had, during their stay at *Paris*, in their way to Court, conferred with the Earl of *Bristol*, and his Son the Lord *Digby*; who breathed out their Grievs to them; and the Lord *Digby* was the more troubled to find that Mr. *Elliot*, who was a known and declared Enemy of his, had gotten so much credit with the King, as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him, by the countenance of his Majesty; in whom, he knew, the King his Father desired, that he should of all Men have the least Interest. After they had been a day or two there, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinking it his Duty to say somewhat to the Queen in particular, and knowing that she expected he should do so, and the King having told him at large all that had passed with his Mother, and the ill humor she was in (all which his Majesty related in a more exalted Dialect than he had been accustomed to) and his Majesty being very willing to understand

what the Queen thought upon the whole, the Chancellor asked a private Audience; which her Majesty readily granted. And after she had gently expostulated upon the old passages at *Jersey* she concluded with the mention of the great confidence the King her Husband had always reposed in him, and thereupon renewed her own gracious professions of good will towards him. Then she complained, not without tears, of the King's unkindness towards her, and of his way of living with her, of some expressions he had used in discourse in her own presence, and of what he had said in other places, and of the great credit Mr. *Elliot* had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her Majesty, and lastly of the incredible design of making *Windham* Secretary; "who, besides his other unsuitness," she said, "would be sure to join with the other to lessen the King's kindness to her all they could." The Chancellor, after he had made all the professions of duty to her Majesty which became him, and said what he really believed of the King's kindness and respect for her, asked her, "whether she would give him leave to take notice of any thing she had said to him, or, in general, that he found her Majesty unsatisfied with the King's unkindness?" The Queen replied, "that she was well contented he should take notice of every thing she had said; and, above all, of his purpose to make *Windham* Secretary:" of which the King had not made the least mention, though he had taken notice to him of most other things the Queen had said to him.

The Chancellor, shortly after, found an opportunity to inform the King of all that had passed from

B O O K  
XII.  
A private  
Audience of  
the Chancellor  
with the  
Queen.



BOOK II the Queen in such a method as might give him occasion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The King heard him very greedily, and protested, "that he desired nothing more than to live very well with the Queen; towards whom he would never fail in his Duty, as far as was consistent with his Honor, and the good of his Affairs; which, at present, it may be, required more reservation towards the Queen, and to have it believed that he Communicated less with Her than he did, or than he intended to do: that, if he did not seem to be desirous of her Company, it was only when she grieved him by some Importunities, in which he could not satisfy her; and that her exception against *Elliot* was very unjust; and that he knew well the Man to be very honest, and that he loved him well; and that the prejudice the King his Father had against him, was only by the malice of the Lord *Digby*, who hated him without a cause, and had likewise informed the Queen of some falsehoods, which had incensed her Majesty against him;" and seemed throughout much concerned to justify *Elliot*, against whom the Chancellor himself had no exceptions, but received more respects from him than he paid to most other Men.

When the Chancellor spoke of making *Windham* Secretary, the King did not own the having promised to do it but "that he intended to do it:" the Chancellor said, "he was glad he had not promised it; and that he hoped, he would never do it: that he was an honest Gentleman, but in no degree qualified for that Office." He put him in mind of Secretary

*Nicholas*, who was then there to present his Duty to him, “that he was a Person of such known affection and honesty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than to pass Him by.” The king said, he thought Secretary *Nicholas* to be a very honest Man; but he had no title to that Office more than another Man: that Mr. *Windham* had not any experience in that Employment, but that it depended so much upon forms, that he would quickly be instructed in it: that he was a very honest Man, for whom he had never done any thing, and had now nothing else to give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in a short time, he would make himself very fit.” All that the Chancellor could prevail with his Majesty, was to suspend the doing it for some time, and that he would hear him again upon the Subject, before he took a final Resolution. For the rest, he promised “to speak upon some particulars with the Queen, and to live with her with all kindness and freedom, that she might be in good humor.” But he heard Her, and all others, very unwillingly, who spoke against Mr. *Windham’s* Parts for being Secretary of State.

One day the Lord *Cottington*, when the Chancellor and some others were present, told the King very gravely (according to his custom, who never smiled when he made others merry) “that he had an humble Suit to him, on the behalf of an old Servant of his Father’s, and whom, he assured him upon his knowledge, his Father loved as well as he did any Man of that condition in *England*; and that he had been for many years one of his Falconers; and he

BOOK XII. " did really believe him to be one of the best Falcon-  
 " ers in *England*," and thereupon enlarged himself  
 (as he could do very well, in all the terms of that  
 Science) to show how very skilful he was in that Art.  
 The King asked him, " what he would have him do  
 " for him?" *Cottington* told him, " it was very true  
 " that his Majesty kept no Falconers. and the poor  
 " Man was grown old, and could not Ride as he had  
 " used to do, but that he was a very honest Man, and  
 " could Read very well, and had as audible a voice  
 " as any Man need to have;" and therefore besought  
 his Majesty, " that he would make him his Chaplain;"  
 which speaking with so composed a Countenance,  
 and somewhat of earnestness, the King looked upon  
 him with a smile to know what he meant; when He,  
 with the same gravity, assured him, " the Falconer  
 " was in all respects as fit to be his Chaplain, as *Colo-*  
 " nel *Windham* was to be Secretary of State;" which  
 so surprised the King, who had never spoken to him  
 of the matter, all that were present being not able to  
 abstain from laughing, that his Majesty was some-  
 what out of Countenance: and this being merrily told  
 by some of the Standers by, it grew to be a story in all  
 Companies, and did really divert the King from the  
 purpose, and made the other so much assured of pre-  
 tending to it, that there was no more discourse of it.

Whilst all Endeavours were used to compose all ill  
 humors here, that the King might prosecute his in-  
 tended Voyage for *Ireland*, there came very ill news

An account of from *Ireland*. As soon as the Marquis of *Ormond* was  
 the affairs in arrived, as hath been said before, the Confederate  
*Ireland* after the Marquis of Catholics, who held their Assembly, as they had

always done, at *Kilkenny*, sent Commissioners to him to Congratulate his Arrival, and to enter upon a Treaty of Peace, that they might all return to their Obedience to the King. But the inconstancy of that Nation was such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themselves by their falling from their former Peace; and notwithstanding that themselves had sent to *Paris* to importune the Queen and the Prince to send the Marquis of *Ormond* back to them, with all promises and protestations that they would not insist upon any unreasonable Concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of Religion, and insisted upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have irreconciled all the *English*, who were under the Lord *Inchiquin*, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: By this means so much time was spent, that the Winter passed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanced against the Parliament-Forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of Supplies, whilst the distractions continued in *England* between the Parliament and the Army, the divisions in the Army, and the prosecution of the King; during which the Governors there had work enough to look to themselves; and left *Ireland* to provide for itself: and if that unfortunate People would have made use of the advantages that were offered, that Kingdom might indeed have been entirely Reduced to the King's Obedience.

That the Lord Lieutenant might even compel them to preserve themselves, he went himself to *Kilkenny*,



BOOK XI. where the Council sat, about *Christmas*, after three months had been spent from his arrival, that no more time might be lost in their Commissioners coming and going, and that the Spring might not be lost as well as the Winter. And at last a Peace was made and concluded; by which, against such a day, the Confederate Catholics obliged themselves, "to bring " into the Field, a body of Horse and Foot, with all " provisions for the Field, which should be at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, and to march as he " should appoint." The Treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have brought the whole Nation to the same agreement. And the General Assembly, to which they all pretended to submit, and from which all had received their Commissions, as hath been said, sent to *Owen O'Neill*, who remained in *Ulster* with his Army, and came not himself to *Kilkenny*, as he had promised to have done, upon pretence of his Indisposition of health. He professed " to submit to whatsoever the General Assembly " should determine:" but when they sent the Articles, to which they had agreed, to be signed by him, he took several exceptions, especially in matters of Religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and, in the end, positively declared " that he " would not submit, or be bound by them:" and at the same time he sent to the Marquis of *Ormond*, " that " he would treat with him apart, and not concern " himself in what the Assembly resolved upon.

The truth is, there was nothing of Religion in this contention; which proceeded from the Animosity between the two Generals, *O'Neill* and *Preston*, and

the bitter Faction between the old *Irish* and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the *English* were; and lastly, from the Ambition of *Owen O Neile*; who expected some Concessions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incensed the other Party, if they had been granted to him: so that the Assembly was well pleased to leave him out, and concluded the Peace without him.

Hereupon the Lord Lieutenant used all possible endeavours that the Army might be formed, and ready to march in the beginning of the Spring. And though there was not an appearance answerable to their promise, yet their Troops seemed so good, and were so numerous, that he thought fit to march towards *Dublin*; and, in the way, to take all Castles and Garrisons, which were possessed by the Parliament: in which they had very good Success. For many of the Parliament-Soldiers having served the King, they took the first opportunity, upon the Marquis of *Ormond*'s approach within any distance, to come to him; and by that means several places Surrendered likewise to him. Colonel *Monk*, who had formerly served the King, and remained, for the space of three or four years. Prisoner in the Tower, had been at last prevailed with by the Lord *Lisle* to serve the Parliament against the *Irish*; pleasing himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the King. He was at this time Governor of *Dundalk*, a Garrison about thirty miles from *Dublin*; which was no sooner summoned (*Tredagh*, and those at a nearer distance, being taken) but he was compelled by his own Soldiers to

**B O O K** deliver it up; and if the Officer who Commanded the  
**XII.** Party which Summoned him, had not been his Friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the King's Service, his Soldiers would have thrown him over the Walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and most of that Garrison betook themselves to the King's Service.

The Marquis  
 of Ormond  
 blocks up  
 Dublin.

Upon all these Encouragements, before the Troops were come up to make the Army as numerous as it might have been, the Marquis was persuaded to block up *Dublin* at a very little distance; having good reason to hope, from the smallness of the Garrison, and a Party of well affected People within the Town, that it would in a short time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he used all the means he could to hasten the *Irish* Troops, some whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raised, to come up to the Army. By all their Letters from *London* (with which, by the way of *Dublin*, and the Ports of *Munster*, there was good Intelligence) they understood, that there were fifteen hundred, or two thousand Men shipped for *Ireland*; and the wind having been for some time against their coming for *Dublin*; there was an apprehension that they

The Lord In-  
 chiquin de-  
 parts from him  
 for Munster.

might be gone for *Munster*: whereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, who was not confident of all his Garrisons there, very unhappily departed with some Troops of Horse to look after his Province; there being then no cause to apprehend any sally out of *Dublin*, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own Walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the wind coming fair, the Ships expected came into the Port of *Dublin*; and landed a greater number of

Recruits land  
 at Dublin from  
 England.

Soldiers, especially of Horse, than was reported; and brought the News that *Cromwell* himself was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of Horse and Foot. This Fleet that was already come, had brought Arms, and Clothes, and Money, and Victuals; which much exalted the Garrison and the City; which presently turned out of the Town some of those who were suspected to wish well to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and imprisoned others. The second day after the arrival of the Succours, *Jones*, who had been a Lawyer, and was then Governor of *Dublin* at Noon-day, marched out of the City, with a Body of three thousand Foot, and three or four Troops of Horse, and fell upon that Quarter which was next the Town; where they found so little resistance that they ventured upon the next; and in short so disordered the whole Army, one half whereof was on the other side the River, that the Lord Lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some Officers whom he drew together, Charged the Enemy with the loss of many of those who followed him, was at last compelled to draw off the whole Army, which was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return them again to their Posts, till both the Troops which he had were refreshed, and composed, and their Numbers increased by the Levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

It may be remembered, that the general Insurrections in the last year the revolt of the Navy, and the Invasion of the *Scots*, encouraged and drawn in by the Presbyterian Party, had so disturbed and obstructed

B O O K

XII.

*Jones sallies  
out of Dublin,  
and beats the  
Marquis of Or-  
mond's Army.*



BOOK the Counfels both in the Parliament, and in the  
 XII. Army, that nothing had been done in all that year  
 towards the relief of *Ireland*, except the fending over  
 the Lord *Lifle* as Lieutenant, with a Commiffion that  
 was determined at the end of fo many Months, and  
 which had given fo little relief to the *Englifh*, that it  
 only difcovered more their weaknefs, and animofity  
 towards each other, than obftructed the *Irifh* in  
 making their progrefs in all the parts of the Kingdom;  
 and the more confirmed the Lord *Inchiquin* to purfue  
 his Refolutions of ferving the King, and of receiving  
 the Marquis of *Ormond*, how meanly foever attended,  
 and to unite with the *Irifh*; the perfecting of which  
 conjunction, with fo general a fuccefs, brought fo  
 great reproach upon the Parliament, with reference  
 to the lofs of *Ireland*, that the noife thereof was very  
 great: So that *Cromwell* thought it high time, in his  
 own Perfon, to appear upon a Stage of fo great Action.  
 There had been always Men enough to be fpared out  
 of the Army to have been fent upon that Expedition,  
 when the other difficulties were at higheft; but the  
 conducting it then was of that importance, that it  
 was, upon the matter, to determine which power  
 fhould be fuperior, the Prefbyterian or the Inde-  
 pendent. And therefore the one had fet up and de-  
 figned *Waller* for that command, and *Cromwell*, againft  
 Him and that Party, had infifted, that it fhould be  
 given to *Lambert*, the fecond Man of the Army, who  
 was known to have as great a deteftation of the Pref-  
 byterian power, as he had of the Prerogative of the  
 Crown: and the Contefts between the two Factions,  
 which of thefe fhould be fent, had fpent a great part

*Cromwell*  
 made Lord  
 Lieutenant of  
 Ireland.

of the last year, and of their Winter-Counsels. But now, when all the Domestic differences were composed by their successes in the field, and the bloody prosecution of their civil Counsels, so that there could be little done to the disturbance of the Peace of *England*, and when *Waller's* Friends were so suppressed, that he was no more thought of, *Cromwell* began to think that the committing the whole Government of *Ireland*, with such an Army as was necessary to be sent thither, was too great a Trust even for his beloved *Lambert* himself, and was to lessen his own power and authority, both in the Army which was Commanded by *Fairfax*, and in the other, that, being in *Ireland*, would, upon any occasion, have great influence upon the Affairs of *England*. And therefore, whilst there appeared no other obstructions in the relief of *Ireland* (which was every day loudly called for) than the determining who should take that Charge, some of his Friends, who were always ready upon such occasions, on a sudden proposed *Cromwell* Himself the Lieutenant-General, to conduct that Expedition.

*Cromwell* himself was always absent when such Overtures were to be made; and whoever had proposed *Lambert*, had proposed it as a thing most agreeable to *Cromwell's* desire; and therefore, when they heard *Cromwell* Himself proposed for the service, and by those who they were sure intended him no affront, they immediately acquiesced in the Proposition, and looked upon the change as a good expedient: on the other side, the Presbyterian party was no less affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the service, and that he never did intend to go thither in

B O O K XII. Person; or that if he did, his absence from *England* would give them all the advantages they could wish, and that they should then recover entirely their General *Fairfax* to their Party; who was already much broken in Spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declared some bitterness against the Persons who had led him to it. And so in a moment both Parties were agreed, and *Oliver Cromwell* elected and declared to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* with as ample, and independent a Commission, as could be prepared.

*Cromwell*, how little surpris'd soever with this designation, appeared the next day in the House full of confusion and irresolution; which the natural temper, and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid, when he least desired it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life. And after much hesitation, and many expressions of  
 “ his own unworthiness, and disability to support so  
 “ great a Charge, and of the entire resignation of him-  
 “ self to Their commands, and absolute dependance  
 “ upon God's, providence and blessing, from whom  
 “ he had received many Instances of his Favor,” he submitted to their good will and pleasure; and desired them “ that no more time might be lost in the pre-  
 “ parations which were to be made for so great a  
 “ Work: for he did confess that Kingdom to be re-  
 “ duced to so great straits, that he was willing to  
 “ engage his own Person in this expedition, for the  
 “ difficulties which appeared in it; and more out of  
 “ hope, with the hazard of his life, to give some ob-  
 “ struction to the successes which the Rebels were at

“ present exalted with ” (for so he called the Marquis of *Ormond*, and all who joined with him) “ that so the Common-Wealth might retain still some footing in that Kingdom, till they might be able to send fresh Supplies, than out of any expectation, that, with the strength he carried, he should be able, in any signal degree, to prevail over them.”

It was an incredible expedition that he used from this minute after his assuming that Charge, in the raising of Money, providing of Shipping, and drawing of Forces together, for this enterprize. Before he could be ready himself to march he sent three thousand Foot and Horse to *Milford-Haven*, to be Transported, as soon as they arrived there, to *Dublin*; all things being ready there for their Transportation; which Troops, by the contrary Winds, were constrained to remain there for many days. And that caused the report in *Ireland*, by the intelligence from *London*, that *Cromwell* intended to make a descent in *Munster*; which unhappily divided the Lord *Inchiquin*, and a good Body of his Men from the Lord Lieutenant, as hath been said, when he marched towards *Dublin*. Nor did the Marquis of *Ormond* in truth at that time intend to have marched thither with that expedition, until his Army should be grown more numerous, and more accustomed to discipline, but the wonderful successes of those Troops which were sent before, in the taking of *Trim*, *Dundalk*, and all the out-Garrisons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within *Dublin*, made him unwilling to lose any more time, since he was sure that the crossness of the Wind only hindered the arrival of those Supplies, which were designed

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He provides  
forces for his  
going thither.



B O O K thither out of *England*: and the arrival of those Supplies, the very day before his coming before *Dublin*, enabled the Governor thereof to make that Sally which is mentioned before; and had that Success which is mentioned.

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The Marquis of *Ormond*, at that time drew off his whole Army from *Dublin* to *Tredagh*, where he meant to remain till he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his farther design. And a full account of all these particulars met *Cromwell* at his arrival at *Milford-Haven*, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of *Dublin*, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispersed, upon the news of the great success his Party had that he had sent before, he deferred not to Embark his whole Army, and, with a very prosperous Wind, arrived at *Dublin* within two or three days after the Marquis of *Ormond* had retired from thence; where he was received with wonderful Acclamation; which did not retard him from pursuing his Active resolutions, to improve those advantages had already befallen him. And the Marquis of *Ormond* was no sooner advertised of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his Army to a greater distance, till those Parties which were marching towards him from the several Quarters of the Kingdom, might come up to him; and in the mean while to put *Tredagh* into so good a posture, as might entertain the Enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was looked upon, besides the strength of the Situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the

flower

*Cromwell*  
arrives at  
*Dublin*.

flower of his Army, both of Soldiers and Officers, most of them *English*, to the number of three thousand Foot, and two or three good Troops of Horse, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to Sir *Arthur Aston*, who hath been often mentioned before, and was an Officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of *Cromwell* for at least a Month's time. And the Marquis of *Ormond* made less doubt, in much less time, to relieve and succour it with his Army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a Rendezvous for his new Levies.

This news coming to St. *Germain's*, broke all their Measures, at least as to the Expedition: the resolution continued for *Ireland*; but it was thought fit that they should expect another account from thence, before the King begun his Journey; nor did it seem counsellable that his Majesty should venture at Sea whilst the Parliament-Fleet commanded the Ocean, and were then about the Coast of *Ireland*; but that he should expect the Autumn, when the Season of the year would call home, or disperse the Ships. But where to stay so long was the Question; for it was now the Month of *August*, and as the King had received no kind of civility from *France*, since his last coming, so it was notorious enough that his absence was impatiently desired by that Court; and the Queen, who found herself disappointed of that Dominion which she had expected, resolved to merit from the Cardinal by freeing him from a Guest that was so unwelcome to them, though he had not been

This News  
delays the  
King's Voyage  
into Ireland.

BOOK in any degree chargeable to them; and so was not at  
 XII. all solicitous for his longer stay. So his Majesty considered how he should make his departure; and, upon looking round, he resolved, that he would make his Journey through *Normandy*, and Embark himself for his Island of *Jersey*; which still continued under his obedience, and under the Government of Sir *George Carteret*; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the Lieutenant of the Lord *Jermyn*; who, in those straits the King was in, and the great plenty he himself enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there would lessen some of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's Support, whilst he should stay there, necessary to sell some of the King's Demesnes in that Island, the yearly rent whereof used to be received by that Lord towards the discharge of the Garrisons there, he insisted, with all possible importunity, "that some of the Money, which should be raised upon that Sale, should be paid to Him, because his receipt, for the time to come, would not remain so great as it had been formerly:" and though this demand appeared so unjust, and unreasonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him such a Note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good Sum of Money, after the return of his Majesty into *England*, upon that consideration. This Resolution being taken for *Jersey*, the King sent to the Prince of *Orange*, "that he would cause two Ships of War to ride in the road before *St. Maloes*" (which they might do without notice)

“ and that he might have a Warrant remain in his hands, by which the Ships might attend his Majesty, when he should require them;” which they might do in very few hours; and in these he meant to Transport himself, as soon as it should be seasonable, into *Ireland*. These Ships did wait his pleasure there accordingly.

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*France* had too good an excuse at this time for not giving the King any assistance in Money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own Affairs were in. Though the Sedition which had been raised in *Paris* the last Winter, was at present so much appeased by the Courage, and Conduct of the Prince of *Condé* (who brought the Army, which he Commanded in *Flanders*, with so great Expedition before *Paris*, that the City yielded to reason) so that his most Christian Majesty, the Queen his Mother, and the whole Court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The Town continued still in ill humor; more of the great Men adhered to them than had done before; the Animosities against the Cardinal increased, and, which made those Animosities the more terrible, the Prince of *Condé*, who surely had merited very much, either unsatisfied, or not to be satisfied, broke his Friendship with the Cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: So that the Court was far from being in that Tranquillity, as to concern itself much for the King our Master, if it had been otherwise well inclined to it.

The Affairs  
of France  
whilst the  
King was at  
*Paris*.

All things standing thus, about the middle of *September*, the King left *St. Germain's*, and begun his

The King  
leaves *St.*  
*Germain's*;



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and goes  
towards  
Jersey.

Journey towards *Jersey*: and the Queen, the next day, removed from thence to *Paris* to the *Louvre*. The two Ambassadors for *Spain* waited upon her Majesty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themselves for their Journey to *Spain*, where they longed to be, and whither they had sent for a Pass to meet them at *St. Sebastian's*, and that they might have a House provided for them at *Madrid*, against the time they should come thither; both which they recommended to an *English* Gentleman, who lived there, to solicit, and advertise them in their Journey of the temper of that Court.

They thought it convenient, since they were to desire a Pass to go from *Paris* into *Spain*, that they should wait upon the Queen-Mother of *France*, and the Cardinal; and likewise upon the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condé*; who were then in a Cabal against the Court. The Prince of *Condé* spoke so publicly, and so warmly against the Cardinal, that most People thought the Cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his Person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his House, and admitted few to come to him, and had a strong Guard in every Room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

In this so general disorder, the Ambassadors declined any formal Audiences; for which their Equipage was not suitable: so the Lord *Cottington* went privately to the Queen-Regent, who received him graciously, and desired him "to recommend her very kindly to her Brother the King of *Spain*, without enlarging upon any thing else." From Her he went

to the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he found in more disorder; and when the Ambassador told him, "he came to know whether he had any Service to command him into *Spain*," the Duke, who scarce stood still whilst he was speaking, answered aloud "that he had nothing to do with *Spain*;" and so went hastily into an other Room; and the Lord *Cottington* then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the Prince of *Condé*, and to the Cardinal. But when they sent to the Prince, he wisely, but with great Civility, sent them word, "that they could not be ignorant of the disorder that Court was in, and of the jealousies which were of him;" and therefore desired them "to excuse him, that he did not see them."

The Cardinal appointed them a time; and accordingly they met, and conferred together about half an hour, the Lord *Cottington* speaking *Spanish*, and the Cardinal and He conferring wholly in that Language. The Cardinal acknowledged the apprehension he was in, in his looks; and took occasion in his discourse to mention "the unjust displeasure, which Monsieur *le Prince* had conceived against him." He seemed earnestly to desire a Peace between the two Crowns; and said, "that he would give a pound of his Blood to obtain it;" and desired the Ambassadors "to tell *Don Lewis de Haro* from him, that he would with all his heart meet him upon the Frontiers; and that he was confident, if they two were together but three hours, they should compose all differences:" which Message he afterwards disavowed, when *Don Lewis* accepted the motion, and was

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The Lord  
Cottington  
and the Chan-  
cellor begin  
their journey  
for Spain, and  
arrive at  
Bordeaux.

willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the Stairs in disorder enough, his Guards being very circumspect, and suffering no stranger to approach any of the Rooms.

They began their Journey from *Paris* upon *Michaelmas-day*, and continued it, without resting one day, till they came to *Bordeaux*; which was then in Rebellion against the King. The City and the Parliament had not only sent several complaints, and bitter invectives against the Duke of *Espenon*, their Governor, for his Acts of Tyranny in his Government, but had presumed, in order to make his Person the more ungracious, to asperse his life and manners with those reproaches which they believed would most reflect upon the Court. And the truth is, their greatest Quarrel against him was, that he was a fast Friend to the Cardinal, and would not be divided from his Interest. They had driven the Duke out of the Town, and did not only desire the King "that he might no more be their Governor; but that his Majesty would give the Government to the Prince of *Condé*;" which made their complaints the less considered as just. And it was then one of the most avowed exceptions that Prince had against the Cardinal, that he had not that Government upon the Petition of *Bordeaux*, since he offered to resign his of *Burgundy*, which was held to be of as much Value, to accommodate and repair the Duke of *Espenon*. At *Blay*, the Ambassadors were visited by the Marshal of *Plessy Praslin*, who had been sent by the Court to treat with the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, but could bring them to no reason, they positively insisting

upon the remove of their old Governor, and conferring the Command upon the Prince. When they came to *Bordeaux* they found the *Chateau-Trompette*, which still held for the King, shooting at the Town, the Town having invested it very close, that no Succour could be put into them, the Duke of *Espenon* being at his House at *Cadillac*, from whence his Horse every day infested the Citizens when they stirred out of the Town. Here the Ambassadors were compelled to stay one whole day, the disorders upon the River, and in the Town, not suffering their Coaches and Baggage to follow them so soon as they should have done. They were here visited by some Counsellors, and Presidents of the Parliament; who professed duty to their King, but irreconcilable hatred to the Duke of *Espenon*; against whom they had published several Remonstrances in Print, and dedicated them to the Prince of *Condé*. After a day's rest there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continued their Journey to *Bayonne*; and arrived, upon the twentieth day from their leaving *Paris*, at the *Taio*; where they took Boat, and in an hour or two arrived at *Girona*. The next day they went by the River to *Passage*, and when they came out of their Boats, which were rowed by Women, according to their Privilege there, they found Mules, sent from St. *Sebastian's* to carry them thither. About half a Mile from the Town they were met by the Governor of *Guipuscoa*, Don *Antonio de Cardinas*, an old Soldier, and a Knight of the Order, the *Corregidor* and all the Magistrates of St. *Sebastian's*, and the *English* Merchants which Inhabited there; and were Conducted by the Governor



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to one of the best Houses in the Town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the Governor, and the rest of the Magistrates, took their leave of them.

They had not been half an hour in their Lodging, conferring with the *English* Merchants, about conveniencies to prosecute their Journey, when the *Corregidor* came to them, and desired to speak with them in private, and after some compliment and apology, he showed them a Letter, which he had received from the Secretary of State; the contents whereof were, "that when the Ambassadors of the Prince of *Wales* should arrive there, they should be received with all respect; but that he should find some means to persuade them to stay and remain there, till he should give the King notice of it, and receive his farther pleasure." And at the same time an *English* Merchant of the Town, who had told them before, that he had Letters from *Madrid* for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a *Pacquet* from Sir *Benjamin Wright*; who was intrusted by them to solicit at *Madrid* for their Pass, and for a House to be prepared for them. In this Letter their Pass was inclosed, under the same Style, as Ambassadors from the Prince of *Wales*; which he had observed upon the place, and desired to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any Order for the providing a House for them; but was told, "that it should be done time enough." This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they seemed not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to stay there a Month, to refresh

themselves after their long Journey, and in expectation of other Letters from the King their Master. The *Corregidor* offered to send away an Express the same night, which they accepted of; and writ to *Don Lewis de Haro*, " that the King their Master had sent them  
" his Ambassadors to his Catholic Majesty, upon  
" Affairs of the highest Importance: that they were  
" come so far on their way, but had, to their great  
" wonder, met there with a signification of that  
" King's pleasure, that they should stay and remain  
" there, till they should receive his Majesty's farther  
" Orders; which troubled them not so much, as to  
" find themselves styled the Ambassadors of the  
" Prince of *Wales*, which they thought very strange,  
" after his Catholic Majesty had sent an Ambassador to the King their Master before they left him:  
" they desired therefore to know, whether their Persons were unacceptable to his Catholic Majesty,  
" and if that were the Case, they would immediately  
" return to their Master; otherwise, if his Majesty  
" were content to receive them, they desired they  
" might be treated in that manner as was due to the  
" Honor and Dignity of the King their Master. And  
" they writ to *Sir Benjamin Wright*, to attend *Don Lewis*, and if he found that they were expected at  
" *Madrid*, and that they reformed the Errors they  
" had committed, he should then use those importunities, which were necessary for the providing a  
" House for them against they should come."

Though the Court was then full of business, being in daily expectation of their new Queen; who was landed, and at that time within few days Journey of

**B O O K** *Madrid*; yet the very next day after the Letter was  
**XII.** delivered to *Don Lewis de Haro*, he returned an Answer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed, to the negligence, or ignorance of the Secretary; and sent them new Passes in the proper Style; and assured them, "that they should find a  
 Their Passes  
 are sent to  
 them.  
 "very good welcome from his Majesty." And Sir *Benjamin Wright* sent them word, "that he had received the Warrant for the providing the House; and the Officer, to whom it was directed, had called upon him to view two or three Houses; and that *Don Lewis* told him, that as soon as he had found a House that pleased him, Orders should be given to the King's Officers of the Wardrobe to furnish it; and then when the Ambassadors came, there should be one of the King's Coaches to attend them whilst they staid." Hereupon they made haste in their Journey, with some satisfaction and confidence that they should find a Court not so hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with so barefaced and formed an Affront, and then so easily recede from it with weak Apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wished that they had not come; and imagined that this might put them to return again, and then were ashamed of their own Expedient, and being pressed, chose rather to decline than avow it: So unnatural a thing is it for that Court to stoop to any ugly Action, without doing it so ungraciously, as to confess it in their own Countenance, and quickly receding from it.

It was about the middle of *November* when they left *St. Sebastian's*, the Weather yet continuing fair;

and a Gentleman of Quality of the Country was appointed to accompany them out of the jurisdiction of *Guipuscoa*, which was to the City of *Victoria*; and from thence they entered into *Castile*. When they came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, they sent to Sir *Benjamin Wright* to know what House was provided for them: he came to them, and told them, "all things were in the same state they were when he writ to them to *St. Sebastian's*; that though *Don Lewis* gave him very good words, and seemed much troubled and angry with the Officers that the House was not ready, and the Officers excused themselves upon the jollities the Town was in during the *Fiestas*, which were held every day for the Queen's arrival, that no body could attend any particular affair, yet it was evident there was not that care taken from the Court that there ought to have been, and that *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* from *England* had done the Ambassadors all the ill offices possible, as if their good reception in *Spain* would incense the Parliament, and make them more propitious to *France*, which valued itself upon having driven all the Royal Family from thence."

Upon this new Mortification, they writ again from thence to *Don Lewis*, to desire "that they might not be put to stay there for want of a House, and so be exposed to contempt." Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always Answered their Letters with great punctuality, and with courtesy enough, as if all things should be ready by the next day. The *English* Merchants, who resided



**B O O K** at *Madrid*, came every day to visit them, but still  
**XII.** brought them word, that there was no appearance of any provision made to receive them; so that, after a week's stay in that little Town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation, which Sir *Benjamin Wright* made them, of reposing themselves *incognito* in his House; which would only receive their Persons with a *Valet de Chambre* for each; and the rest of their family was quartered in the next adjacent Houses for the reception of Strangers; so they went privately in the Evening into *Madrid* in Sir *Benjamin Wright's* Coach, and came to his House: and if, by His generosity, they had not been thus accommodated, they must have been exposed to reproch and infamy, by the very little respect they received from the Court. This Sir *Benjamin Wright* was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Essex*; and, being a younger Brother, had been bred a Merchant in *Madrid*; where he had great business, and great reputation; and, having married a Wife of the Family of *Toledo*, was become a perfect *Spaniard*, not only in the Language, but in the generous part of their Nature and Customs.

They go into  
 Madrid in-  
 cognito;  
 and lodge at  
 first at Sir  
 Benjamin  
 Wright's  
 House.

The Court well enough knew of their Arrival, but took no notice of it. The Lord *Cottington* therefore sent to *Don Lewis*, to desire that he might have a private Audience of him *Incognito*; which he presently consented to, and appointed, the next Morning, to meet in the King's Garden; which was at such a distance from the Court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: *Don Lewis* was a Man of little ceremony, and used no flourishes in his

discourses, which made most Men believe that he said all things from his heart; and he seemed to speak so cordially, that the Lord *Cottington*, who was not easy to be imposed upon, did think that they should have a House very speedily, and that he had a good inclination to favor them in what they came about. He spoke, with more commotion than was natural to him, in the business of the Murder of the King; excused all the omissions towards the Ambassadors; “ which should be repaired out of hand, after the few  
“ days, which yet remained to be spent in *Fiestas* for  
“ the Queen; during which time, he said, no Officers  
“ would obey any Orders that diverted them from  
“ the sight of the Triumphs; and wished that the  
“ Ambassadors would see the Masquerade that After-  
“ noon, and the *Toros* the Day following.

The Lord *Cottington* returned home very well satisfied, and had not been half an hour in the House, when a Gentleman came from *Don Lewis* to invite the Ambassadors to see those Exercises, which are mentioned before; and sent them word that there should be places provided for them. The Chancellor went that Afternoon to the place assigned where he saw the Masquerade, and the running of the Course, and, afterwards, the *Toros*.

At the running of the Course, the King and *Don Lewis* run several Courses, in all which *Don Lewis* was too good a Courtier to win any prize, though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the People was very great, and the Ladies in all the Windows made a very rich show, otherwise the show itself had nothing wonderful. Here there happened to

**B O O K** be some sudden sharp words between the *Admirante*  
**XII.** of *Castile*, a haughty young Man, and the Marquis  
*de Liche*, the eldest Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*; the  
 which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed  
 the Squadrons wherein they were, and committed  
 to their Chambers.

At the Entertainment of the *Toros* there was another accident, the mention whereof is not unfit to show the discipline, and severity of that Nation in the observation of order. It was remembered, that at the Masquerade, the *Admirante* and the Marquis of *Liche* were sent to their Chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examined, they were both commanded to leave the Town, and retire each to a House of his own, that was within three or four Leagues of the Town. The Marquis of *Liche* was known to have gone the next day, and no body doubted the same of the *Admirante*, those orders being never disputed or disobeyed. The King as he was going to the *Toros*, either himself discerned at another Balcony, or some body else advertised him of it, that the Duchess, who was Wife to the *Admirante*, was there; and said, “ he  
 “ knew that Lady was a Woman of more Honor than  
 “ to come out of her House, and be present at the  
 “ *Fiestas*, whilst her Husband was under restraint, and  
 “ in his Majesty’s displeasure;” and therefore concluded that her Husband was likewise there; and thereupon sent an *Alguazil* to that Room, with command to examine carefully with his Eye, whether the *Admirante* was there; for there appeared none but Women. The *Admirante* being a young rash Man, much in the King’s favor, and a Gentleman of his

Bed-Chamber, thought he might undiscerned see the Triumph of that day; and therefore caused himself to be dressed in the habit of a Lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his Wife to go with him; who exceedingly resisted his Commands, well knowing to what reproach she exposed her own honor, though she had no fear of his being discovered. The *Alguazil* brought the King word, that he was very sure that the *Admirante* was there, in the habit of a Woman, and sat next his Wife among many other Ladies. Whereupon the King sent the Officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to the Officer's own House. And as soon as the King returned to the Palace, there was an Order that the *Alguazil* should the next Morning carry the *Admirante* to *Valladolid*, four days Journey from *Madrid*, to a House of his own there; where he was confined not to go out of the limits of that City; and under this restraint remained for the space of full three years: So penal a thing it is amongst that People, for any Man, of how great Quality soever (there was not in *Spain* a Man of greater than the *Admirante* of *Castile*) to disobey, or elude the judgment of the King.

It may be thought impertinent to the work in hand, to make a digression upon this Embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occurred in it, of the formality and constitution of that Court, of the nature and humor of that People, which may seem foreign to the affairs of *England*. But since the King, after his leaving *Paris*, remained in *Jersey* for many Months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to quit that retire-

The King remains several months in Jersey.



**B O O K** ment, in all which time there was no Action, or  
**XII.** Counſel to be mentioned, and this being the firſt, and  
 the only Embaſſy, in which his Maſteſty's Perſon was  
 repreſented, until his bleſſed return into *England* (for  
 though ſome other Perſons were afterwards ſent to  
 other Princes, with Commiſſions to perform that  
 function, if they found Encouragement ſo to do, yet  
 none aſſumed that Character, nor were treated as ſuch  
 in any Court in Chriſtendom, *Spain* only excepted )  
 it may therefore be reaſonably thought not improper  
 in this Hiſtory, to give ſuch a relation of this Nego-  
 tiation, that it may appear what ſenſe ſo great a Court  
 as that of *Spain* had of thoſe Revolutions in *England*,  
 and of the deplorable condition to which this young  
 innocent Prince was reduced, when it was fully preſ-  
 ſed to them in the moſt efficacious terms poſſible ; and  
 every circumſtance of their reception, and treatment,  
 may ſerve to illuſtrate thoſe particulars ; and there-  
 fore we ſhall proceed farther in the relation of them.

An account of  
 the Ambaſſa-  
 dors Au-  
 dience.

Before their Audience, *Don Lewis de Haro* ſent  
 them word of the imprifonment of the Prince of  
*Condé*, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Duke of *Longue-  
 ville*, and that Marſhal *Turin* had made his Eſcape  
 into *Flanders* ; the news whereof gave the *Spaniſh*  
 Court much trouble ; for they had promiſed them-  
 ſelves a better Harveſt from that Seed, which they  
 had carefully and induſtriouſly Sown, and that there-  
 by the Cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would  
 have been totally ſuppreſſed, and all his power en-  
 tirely taken from him ; which, they concluded, would  
 forthwith produce a Peace, which was not leſs deſired  
 in *France* than in *Spain* ; or that thoſe Princes, and all  
 their

their Dependents, would have appeared in Arms in that Kingdom; by which the *Spaniards* should be able to recover much of what they had lost in *Flanders*; the hopes of either of which appeared now blasted by this unexpected revival of the Cardinal's power.

Upon the day assigned for the Audience, it being resolved that when they had ended with the King, they should likewise have one of the Queen, *Don Lewis de Haro* sent Horses to their Lodging, for the accommodation of the Ambassadors, and their Servants: it being the fashion of that Court, that the Ambassadors ride to their first Audience. And so they rode, being attended by all their own Servants, and all the *English* Merchants who lived in the Town, together with many *Irish* Officers who were in the Service of his Catholic Majesty, all on Horse-back; so that their Cavalcade appeared very fair, all the Coaches of other Ambassadors likewise following them. In this manner they came to the Court about ten of the Clock in the Morning, being conducted by an Officer, who had been sent to their Lodging, and rode with them to the Court.

Through several Rooms, where there was only one Officer, who attended to open and shut the doors, they came to the Room next that where his Majesty was; where, after a little stay, whilst their Conductor went in and out, they found the King standing upright, with his back against the Wall, and the Grandees at a distance, in the same posture, against the Wall. When they had made their several respects, and came to the King, he lightly moved his hat, and bid them cover; the Lord *Cottington* spoke only

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general things, “of the confidence the King had in his Majesty’s kindness, and that He believed his condition such, as that all the Kings of the World were concerned to vindicate the wrong he sustained : that this was the first Embassy he had sent, relying more upon the honor of his Majesty’s nature and generosity, than upon any other Prince;” with discourses of the same nature: then they presented their Credentials.

The King expressed a very tender Sense of our King’s condition, and acknowledged “that it concerned all Kings to join together for the punishment of such an impious Rebellion and Parricide; and if his own Affairs would permit it, he would be the first that would undertake it; but that they could not but know how full his hands were; and whilst he had so powerful an Adversary to contend with, he could hardly defend himself; but that when there should be a Peace with *France*” (which he desired) “the King,” his *Sobrino* (for so he still called the King, his Nephew) “should find all he could expect from him; in the mean time he would be ready to do all that was in his power towards his assistance and relief.” After the formal part was over, the King asked many Questions, most with reference to his Sister, the Queen of *France*; and discoursed very intelligently of every thing; so that his defects proceeded only from the laziness of his mind, not from any want of understanding; and he seemed then, when he was about eight-and-forty years of Age, to have great vigor of Body, having a clear ruddy Complexion; yet he had been accustomed to

Fevers from his Debauches with Women, by which he was much wasted. B O O K  
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From the King they were conducted to the Queen; who used very few words, and spoke so low that she could scarce be heard; she stood, in the same manner the King did, against a Wall, and her Ladies on both sides as the Grandees did; the *Infanta* at a little distance from her, to whom likewise they made a Compliment from their Master. The Queen was then about eighteen years of Age, not tall, round-faced, and inclined to be fat. The *Infanta* was much lower, as she ought to be by her Age, but of a very lovely complexion, without any help of Art, which every one else in the Room, even the Queen herself, was beholding to: and she was then the fullest of Spirit and Wit of any Lady in *Spain*, which she had not improved afterwards, when she had more years upon her. Their Audience ended, they returned; and at last they had a House provided for them in the *Calle de Alcala*, belonging to the Marquis of *Villa Magna*, to whom the King paid four hundred pounds Sterling by the year. They have a  
House assigned  
them.

The Council of State at this time consisted of *Don Lewis de Haro*, the Duke of *Medina de los Torres*, Duke of *Mounterey*, Marquis of *Castel Roderigo*, Marquis of *Val-Periso*, the Conde of *Castrillo*, and *Don Francisco de Melo*; there were no more residing in that Court then; the Duke of *Medina Celi* residing constantly at his Government of *St. Lucar*, the Marquis of *Leganéz* being General against *Portugal*, and so remaining at *Badajoz*, and coming seldom to *Madrid*, and the Duke of *Arcos* stood confined to his



**B O O K** House, since the defection of *Naples*, when it was  
**XII.** under his Government; and the *Conde de Pignoranda*  
 was not yet come out of *Flanders*.

The Charac-  
 ter of Don  
 Lewis de  
 Maro.

Don *Lewis* was as absolute a Favorite in the Eyes of his Master, had as entire a disposal of all his Affections and Faculties, as any Favorite of that Age: nor was any thing transacted at home, or abroad, but by His direction and determination: and yet of all the Favorites of that, or any other time, no Man ever did so little alone, or seemed less to enjoy the delight and empire of a Favorite. In the most ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little Deliberation, and in the nature of them required Expedition, he would give no Order without formal Consultation with the rest of the Council; which hindered despatch, and made his Parts the more suspected. He was Son of the Marquis of *Carpio*, who had Married the Sister of *Olivarez*, and had been put about the Person of the King, being about the same Age with his Majesty, and had so grown up in his Affection, and was not thought to have been displeased at the disgrace of his Uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not succeed in the place of Favorite in many years, nor seemed to be concerned in any business till after the death of the then Queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the King's Affection, who had a great kindness for his Person, than by the Ambition of his own Nature, or any delight in business. His Education had not fitted him for it, and his natural Parts were not sharp, yet his Industry was great, and the more commendable, because his Nature had some

repugnancy to it, and his Experience had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke impertinently, but discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all Subjects. He was of a Melancholic complexion; which, it may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself to himself, which was his defect. He seemed to be a very honest, and well natured Man, and did very rarely manifest his power in Acts of oppression, or hard-heartedness; which made him grateful to most particular Men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His Port and Grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the *French Cardinals*; the last of which was Favorite during his Administration. Nor did he affect Wealth as They did, not leaving a Fortune behind him much improved by his own Industry: yet it cannot be denied, that the Affairs of *Spain* declined more, in the time they were under His Government, than at any time before; and that less was done with the consumption of so much Money, than might have been expected. But it must be likewise considered, that he entered upon that Administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of *Portugal*, and the defection in *Catalonia*, which made such a rent in that Crown, as would have required more than an ordinary Statesman to have repaired, and make it flourish as before.

The Ambassadors had not been long at *Madrid*, when the *Conde of Pignoranda* returned thither from his Negotiation in the Treaty of *Munster*. He had been declared to be of the Council of State, after he had made that Peace with *Holland*, and was admitted to it as soon as he returned. He was *Conde* in the

Of the *Conde*  
de of *Pignoranda*.

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right of his Wife only; and before, being of a good Family, *Don Diego de Bruchamonte*, and bred in the study of the Law, was looked upon as a good Man of business, and so employed in matters of greatest Trust. He was indeed a Man of great Parts, and understood the Affairs of the World better than most in that Court. He was Proud to the height of his Nation, and retained too much of the Pedantry which he had brought with him from *Salamanca*. As soon as he returned, according to the method of that Court upon great and successful Employments, the Presidency *de los Ordines*, an Office of great Reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferred upon him. The Ambassadors found no benefit by his Arrival, coming from *Brussels*, which was thoroughly infected by *Don Alonzo*. The truth is, *Don Alonzo*, who had no Affection for the King, upon the memory of some disobligations when he first came over into *England*, and liked well his Employment, and Residence there, used all the endeavours imaginable to have the King's Condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and that therefore all Civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Common-wealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that *Spain* thought only how to make a firm Friendship there, and to forget that there ever Had been a King of *England*, in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore when the Ambassadors, after all Ceremonies were over, had a private Audience of the King, and desired, that he would appoint Commissioners, with whom

The Amba-  
sadors pri-  
vate Audience  
and Demands.

“ they might treat about the renewing the Alliance  
 “ between the two Crowns, which had been pro-  
 “ vided for by the last Treaty to be renewed within  
 “ so many Months after the death of either King. and  
 “ with whom they might likewise confer upon such  
 “ relief in Arms, and Money, as his Catholic Ma-  
 “ jesty would think proper to send to their Master  
 “ into *Ireland*” (whither one of the Ambassadors  
 desired to hasten his Journey as soon as might be; and  
 in that Memorial, which they then delivered to his  
 Catholic Majesty, they had desired likewise “ that  
 “ he would write to *Owen O Neile* to dispose him to  
 “ submit to the King”) they received shortly after  
 an Answer, sent to them by *Don Francisco de Melo*,  
 who told them, “ that the King had sent him to them,  
 “ to confer with them upon the substance of their  
 “ last Memorial. He said. the King did not think it  
 “ necessary to appoint any Committee to renew the  
 “ last Treaty of Peace; which was still in force, and  
 “ might well be observed between the two Nations;  
 “ and that the renewing might be deferred till the  
 “ times should mend;” implying very little less than  
 that when the King should be in *England*, it would  
 be a fit time to renew the Alliance. He said, “ he  
 “ was ready to receive any Propositions from them,  
 “ wherein they might more particularly set down  
 “ their desires, if they were ready to depart;” and  
 for writing to *Owen O Neile* (whom he called *Don*  
*Eugenio*) “ he had so misbehaved himself towards  
 “ his Catholic Majesty, by leaving his Service in  
 “ *Flanders* and transporting himself into *Ireland* with-  
 “ out his Licence, that his Majesty could not in

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 The Answer  
 they receive.



B O O K " Honor write to him; but that he would take such  
 XII. " care, that he should know it would be agreeable  
 " to his Majesty's good liking, that he betook him-  
 " self to the Service of the King of Great Britain  
 " without reserve; which he did believe would dis-  
 " pose him to it:" which Method the Ambassadors  
 conceived was proposed, because they should believe  
 that the *Spaniard* had no hand in sending him into  
 that Kingdom, or in fomenting the Rebellion there;  
 whereas at the same time *Don Diego de la Torre* was  
 with the *Irish* as Resident or Envoy from *Spain*.

This Answer was evidence enough to them, how  
 little they were to expect from any avowed Friend-  
 ship of that Crown, though they still thought they  
 might be able to obtain some little favor in private,  
 as Arms, and Ammunition, and a small supply of  
 Money for the King's Subsistence, that could hardly  
 be taken notice of. And therefore the Chancellor  
 of the Exchequer, who was designed by the King to  
 attend him in *Ireland* expected only to hear that he  
 was arrived there, till when he could not present his  
 Memorial so particularly as was demanded, nor pre-  
 pare himself for his Voyage thither: and so they  
 rested for some time, without giving the Court any  
 farther trouble by Audiences.

Now whilst they were in this impatient Expecta-  
 tion to hear from the King their Master, who yet  
 remained at *Jersey*, by which they might take their  
 own resolutions, Prince *Rupert* came upon the coast  
 of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; which  
 he had brought from *Ireland*; and had sent a Letter  
 on Shore to be sent to the Chancellor of the Exche-

Prince Rupert comes  
 upon the coast  
 of Spain.

quer; which the Officer upon the place, sent presently to *Don Lewis de Haro*; who, in the same moment, sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The Prince writ him word, "that he had brought away  
 " all the Fleet from *Ireland*, and that he had received  
 " an Assurance from *Portugal*, that he should be  
 " very welcome thither; upon which he was resolved, after he had attended some days to meet with  
 " any *English* Ships that might be prize, to go for  
 " *Lisbon*; and desired him to procure Orders from  
 " the Court, that he might find a good reception in  
 " all the Ports of *Spain*, if his occasions brought him  
 " thither." The Ambassadors sent immediately for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; who received them with open Arms, and another kind of Countenance than he had ever done before. A Fleet of the King of *England*, under the Command of a Prince of the Blood, upon the coast of *Spain*, at a Season of the year when they expected the return of their Galeons from the Indies, made a great consternation amongst the People, and the Court received the News of it with disorder enough. All that the Ambassadors asked, was granted without hesitation; and Letters were despatched away that very Night (Copies whereof were sent to the Ambassadors) by several Expresses, to all the Governors of the Ports, and other Officers, for the good reception of Prince *Rupert*, or any Ships under his Command, if they came into any of the Ports; and for the furnishing them with any Provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly Clauses as could have been inserted if the King had been in possession of his whole Empire:

His Letter to  
 the Chancellor  
 of the  
 Exchequer.

**B O O K** so great an influence a little appearance of Power had  
**XII.** upon their Spirits; and the Ambassadors found they lived in another kind of Air than they had done, and received every day Visits and Caresses from the Court, and from those in Authority.

The Prince  
 with the gros  
 of his Fleet  
 goes into the  
 River of  
 Lisbon.

But the Government of these benign Stars was very short: Within few days after, they received News, “ that the Prince, with the gros of his Fleet, was “ gone into the River of *Lisbon*, and that a Squadron “ of four or five Ships, under the Command of Cap- “ tain *Allen*, being severed from the Prince by a Storm, “ was driven upon the Rocks at *Cartagena*; where “ the People of the Country had treated them very “ rudely, and seized both upon the Ships, and Persons “ of the Men, and the Storm continuing had wreck- “ ed two or three of their Vessels in the Road, though “ the Guns and all things in the Ships were saved.” When the Ambassadors demanded Justice, “ and that “ restitution might be made of all those Goods, and “ Ordnance, and rigging of the Ships, which not only “ the People, but the Governors, and Officers them- “ selves had seized upon,” they were received with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the same Expedition in granting what they could not deny. Orders were at last given for the setting all the Men at liberty, and redelivery of the Goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their Vessels, and Transport their Men.

The chief  
 Commander  
 of the Parlia-  
 ment's Fleet  
 comes on the  
 Spanish Coast.

But as these Orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and a stronger Fleet sent out by the Parliament of *England* then appeared upon the Coast, which came into the Road of *St. Andero's*;

from whence the Commander in chief writ a very insolent Letter in *English* to the King of *Spain*; wherein he required, "that none of those Ships under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which had revolted from the Parliament. and were in Rebellion against it, might be received into any of the Ports of *Spain*, and that those Ships which were in the Ports of *Cartagena*, might be delivered to him, and the Ordnance and tackling of the others which were wrecked, might be carefully kept, and be delivered to such Person as should be authorized to receive the same by the Commonwealth of *England*; to whom they belonged:" and concluded, "that as the Commonwealth of *England* was willing to live in Amity, and good Intelligence with his Catholic Majesty, so they knew very well how to do themselves right for any injury, or discourtesy, which they should sustain."

This imperious style made such an impression upon the Court, that all the importunity the Ambassadors could use, could get nothing done at *Cartagena* in pursuance of the Orders they had sent from the Court; but the poor Men were, after long attendance, forced to Transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them marched over Land, and were compelled to List themselves in the *Spanish* Service at Land; where they, for the most part, perished; care being in the mean time taken, that the Parliament-Fleet should be received in all places, with all possible demonstration of respect and kindness; and the King sent a Ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to the Commander. In this Triumph he

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His Letter to  
the King of  
Spain.

He falls into  
the River of  
Lisbon.



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Requires  
Prince Ru-  
pert's Fleet to  
be delivered  
up.

Sailed from thence into *Portugal*, and dropped his Anchors in the River of *Lisbon*, at a very small distance from the Fleet of Prince *Rupert*; and suffered not any Ship to enter into that River; but denounced War against that Kingdom, if that Fleet were not presently delivered up into his hands.

The *Portuguese* had received Prince *Rupert* very civilly, bought all the Prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free use of all their Ports, and furnished him with all things he stood in need of. The Queen, and the Prince of *Portugal* then living, who was a young Man of great hope and courage, made great professions of Friendship to our King, and of a desire to assist him by all the ways and means which could be proposed to them. But when their River was blocked up, their Ships taken, and the whole Kingdom upon the matter besieged by the Parliament-Fleet, of which they knew the *Spaniard* would quickly make use, the Council was astonished, and knew not what to do: their free Trade with *England* was not only their profit, but their reputation; and, if they should be deprived of that, they should not be able to preserve it any where else; which would put the whole Kingdom into a flame; and therefore they besought their King, "that Prince *Rupert* might be desired to leave the River, and to carry his Fleet from thence;" which was not possible for him to do without fighting with the Enemy, to whom he was much inferior in strength of Shipping, and number of Men, by the loss he had sustained at *Cartagena*.

The Prince of *Portugal* had so great indignation at this overture made by the Council, that he declared

“ he would have all the Ships in the Port made ready, and would himself go on Board, and join with Prince *Rupert*, and fight the *English*, and drive them from thence : ” and he manifested a great desire to do so ; but the Council prevailed with the Queen not to consent to that. So in the end, after some Months stay there, and the Fleet being fully supplied with whatever it stood in need of, Prince *Rupert* found it necessary, upon the assurance the *Portuguese* gave him that the other Fleet should not follow him till after two Tides, to set Sail and leave that Kingdom ; which he did with so full a Gale, that the Parliament’s Commander, after so long a stay, found it to no purpose to follow him ; but took full vengeance upon *Portugal* for rescuing his Prey from him ; until they were compelled, after great sufferings, to purchase their peace from *Cromwell* upon very hard conditions.

Prince Rupert escapes out of the River of Lisbon with his Fleet.

It seemed no good sign to the Ambassadors that Prince *Rupert* had left *Ireland* ; where there were so many good Ports, and where the Fleet had been so necessary for the carrying on his Majesty’s Service. But in a short time after, they received advertisement, “ that the King had laid aside his purpose of going thither, and had taken new resolutions.” Before the Marquis of *Ormond* could draw his Army together, *Cromwell* had besieged *Tredagh* : and though the Garrison was so strong in point of number, and that number of so choice Men, that they could wish for nothing more than that the Enemy would attempt to take them by storm, the very next day after he came before the Town he gave a general Assault, and was beaten off with considerable loss. But, after a day

The affairs of Ireland at this time.

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Tredagh  
taken by  
Storm.

more, he Assaulted it again in two places, with so much courage, that he entered in both; and though the Governor and some of the chief Officers retired in disorder into a Fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panic fear so possessed the Soldiers, that they threw down their Arms upon a general offer of Quarter: so that the Enemy entered the Works without resistance, and put every Man, Governor, Officer, and Soldier, to the Sword; and the whole Army being entered the Town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every Man that related to the Garrison, and all the Citizens who were *Irish*, Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword; and there being three or four Officers of Name, and of good Families, who had found some way by the humanity of some Soldiers of the Enemy, to conceal themselves for four or five days, being afterwards discovered they were butchered in cold blood.

This insupportable loss took away all hopes from the Marquis of *Ormond* of drawing an Army strong enough, and resolute enough, together, to meet *Cromwell* in the field, during the Summer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into those Quarters, where, in respect of the strong Passes, he might be secure, and from whence he might attempt upon the Enemy. *Cromwell* in the mean time took no rest, but having made himself terrible by that excess of rigor and cruelty, marched into *Munster* against the Lord *Inchiquin* and that Body of *English* which was under His Command. Here he defied Fortune again; and marched so far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reasonable

Cromwell  
marches into  
Munster.

hope to receive Supplies, that he must necessarily have been starved, and could not have retired, all the Bridges over which he had passed being broken down, if the City of *Cork*, which he could not have forced, had not been by the Garrison basely delivered up to him; those Officers who had been most obliged to the Lord *Inchiquin*, and in whom he had most confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forsaking him: so that by the Example of *Cork*, and by the terror of *Tredagh*, the whole Province of *Munster*, in a very short time, fell into *Cromwell's* hands, except some few Towns and Sea-Ports, which, being Garrisoned by the *Irish*, would, neither Officers nor Soldiers, receive or obey any Orders which were sent from the Lord of *Ormond*. The King receiving information of this at *Ferfey*, gave over the thought very reasonably of adventuring himself into *Ireland*; and dismissed the two Ships, which, by the direction of the Prince of *Orange*, had attended so long at *St. Maloe's*, to have waisted him thither.

Though Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the other *Scottish* Lords, who remained in *Holland* when the King came into *France*, durst not return into their own Country, yet they held Intelligence with their Party there. And though the Marquis of *Argyle* had the sole power, yet he could not extinguish the impatient desire of that whole Nation, to have their King come to them. And every day produced instances enough, which informed him, how the affections of the People were generally disposed, and upon how slippery ground himself stood, if he were not supported by the King; and that the

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His success  
there.The King  
gives over  
the thought of  
going into  
Ireland.



**B O O K** Government, he was then possessed of, could not be  
**XII.** lasting, except he had another Force to defend him, than that of his own Nation. And he durst not receive any from *Cromwell*, who would willingly have assisted him, for fear of being entirely deserted by all his Friends, who had been still firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the King into *Scotland*, and keeping the *Hamiltonian* Faction from entering with him, by the sentence that was already against them, and to oblige the King to submit to the Covenant, and all those other obligations which were at that time established; and if his Majesty would put himself into his hands upon those conditions, he should be sure to keep the power in himself under the King's name, and might reasonably hope that *Cromwell*, who made no pretence to *Scotland*, might be well enough pleased that his Majesty might remain there under His Government, and Assurance that he should not give *England* or *Ireland* any disturbance.

Argyle designs to invite the King into Scotland.

Provides, that a Message be sent to his Majesty to Jersey upon the old Conditions.

Upon this presumption, he wished the Council of *Scotland*, and that Committee of the Parliament in whom the Authority was vested, to send again to the King (who, they thought, by this time, might be weary of *Jersey*) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the People did so passionately desire, he renewed all the solemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the King to come amongst them, but upon his first submitting to, and performing all those conditions. All things being thus settled, and agreed, they sent a Gentleman with Letters into *Jersey*, to invite his Majesty again to come

come into his Kingdom of *Scotland*, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he should receive. The *Scottish* Lords, who are mentioned before to be then in *Holland*, were glad of this advance; and believed that if the King were there, they should easily find the way home again. And therefore they prevailed with the Prince of *Orange*, to write very earnestly to the King, and to recommend it to the Queen; and themselves made great instance to the Queen, with whom they had much credit, ‘ that the King “ would not lose this opportunity to improve his “ condition.” No body presumed to advise him to submit to All that was proposed; and yet it was evident, that if he did not submit to All, he could have the benefit of none; but “ that he should make such “ an Answer as might engage the *Scots* in a Treaty, “ for the King’s better information, and satisfaction “ in some particulars; which being done, he should “ imply a purpose to Transport his Person thither.

The Spring was now coming on, and though *Jersey* was a convenient place to retire to, in order to consider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reside in, nor would be longer safe, than whilst the Parliament had so much else to do, that it could not spare wherewithal to reduce it. The design for *Ireland* was at an end, and the despair of being welcome in any other place, compelled the King to think better of *Scotland*: and so, according to the advice he had received, he returned an Answer to the Message from *Scotland*, “ that there were many particulars “ contained in the Propositions which he did not “ understand, and which it was necessary for him to

The King’s  
Answer,  
“ that he  
“ would have

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"a Treaty

"with them in

"Holland.

" be advised in ; and in order thereunto, and that he  
 " might be well informed and instructed in what so  
 " nearly concerned him, he resolved, by such a time,  
 " which was set down, to find himself in *Holland* ;  
 " where he desired to meet such Persons as his King-  
 " dom of *Scotland* would send to him, and to confer,  
 " and treat, and agree with those upon all things that  
 " might give his Subjects of that Kingdom satisfaction ;  
 " which his Majesty did very much desire to do."

The Queen had so good an opinion of many of the *Scottish* Lords, and so ill a one of many of the *English* who were about the King (in truth, she had so entire a despair of all other ways) that she was very desirous that the overtures from *Scotland* should be hearkened to, and embraced : besides that she found her Authority was not so great with the King, as she expected, she saw no possibility of their being long together : She knew well that the Court of *France*, that grew every day into a closer correspondence with *Cromwell*, would not endure that the King should make his Residence in any part of that Kingdom, and so shortened the Assignations which they had made for her own support, that she was at no ease, and begun to think of dissolving her own Family, and of her own retiring into a Monastery ; which from that time she practised by degrees : and, no doubt, that consideration which made most impression upon the King, as it had done upon his Father, and terrified him most from complying with the *Scots* demands, which was the alteration it would make in Religion, and the Government of the Church, seemed not to Her of moment enough to reject the other conveniencies ;

nor did she prefer the order, and decency of the Church of *England*, before the fordidness of the Kirk of *Scotland*, but thought it the best expedient to advance her own Religion, that the latter should triumph over the former. She therefore writ earnestly to the King her Son, "that he would entertain this motion from *Scotland*, as his only refuge; and that he would invite Commissioners to meet him in *Holland*, in such a place as the Prince of *Orange* should advise;" and desired that, "in his passage thither, he would appoint some place where her Majesty would meet him; that they might spend some days together in consultation upon what might concern them jointly." In all which his Majesty complying, the City of *Beauvais* in *Picardy* was appointed for the interview; where both their Majesties met, and conversed together three or four days; and then the Queen returned to *Paris*, and the King passed through *Flanders* to *Breda*; which the Prince of *Orange* thought to be the fittest place for the Treaty, the States having no mind that the King should come any more to the *Hague*.

The Queen advises the King to agree with the Scots upon their Terms.

Their Majesties meet at Beauvais. The King goes to Breda.

The *Scottish* Commissioners came to *Breda* with the very same Propositions which had been formerly sent, and without the least mitigation, and as positive an exception to Persons: so that if the King should incline to go thither, he must go without any one Chaplain of his own: there were Ministers sent from *Scotland* to attend, and to instruct him. His Majesty must not carry with him any one Counsellor, nor any Person who had ever served his Father in the War against the Parliament, without taking the Covenant.

The Scottish Commissioners come to Breda, and the terms they bring.



**B O O K** And, that no body might have cause to complain, if  
**xii.** they did go thither, that they were worse treated than they had reason to expect, the King himself, and all who should attend upon him, were first to sign the Covenant before they should be admitted to enter into the Kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any Man justly except against any thing that was afterwards done to him.

Here was no great Argument for consultation: no Man had so ill an understanding, as not to discern the violence that was offered to Honor, Justice, and Conscience; yet whoever objected against what was proposed, upon any of those considerations, was looked upon as a Party, because he himself could not be suffered to attend the King. It was thought to be of great Weight, that they who dissuaded the King from going into *Scotland*, upon those rude and barbarous terms, could not propose any thing else for him to do, nor any place where he might securely repose himself, with any hope of subsistence: a very sad State for a Prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifest enough, that the Kings of the Earth are not such a Body as is sensible of the Indignity, and Outrage. that is offered to any Member of it. The *Scottish Hamiltonian* Lords were thought to be the most competent Counsellors, since They, by going, were to be exposed to great rigor, and to undergo the severest part of all Censures. They could not sit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and knew well that they should not be suffered to be about the Person of the King: yet all these resolved to wait upon him, and persuaded him to believe, “ that his Majesty’s

“ prefence would diffipate thofe Clouds; and that a  
 “ little time would produce many alterations, which  
 “ could not be prefently effected.” For his Majesty’s  
 figning the Covenant, “ he fhould tell the Commif-  
 “ fioners, that he would defer it till he came thither,  
 “ that he might think better of it; and that if then the  
 “ Kirk fhould prefs it upon him, he would give them  
 “ fatisfaction. And they were confident, that after he  
 “ fhould be there, he fhould be no more impor-  
 “ tuned in it, but that even the Church-men them-  
 “ felves, would contend to make themfelves gracious  
 “ to him.”

This kind of Argumentation wrought much with  
 the Prince of *Orange*, but more with the Duke of  
*Buckingham*, who had waited upon the King from  
 the time of his Adventure with the Earl of *Holland*  
 (againft whose Perfon there was no exception) and  
 with *Wilmot*, and *Wentworth* (who refolved to go  
 with his Majesty, and would fubmit to any condi-  
 tions, which would be required of them) and with  
 others about the King, who could not digeft the  
 Covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required  
 from them, and the many promifes thofe *Scottifh*  
 Lords made to them, who were like to grow into  
 Authority again when they fhould be once in their  
 native Air and upon their own Soil, prevailed with  
 them to ufe all their credit with the King to embark  
 himfelf, and try how propitious fortune would be to  
 him in *Scotland*. In the end, a faint hope in that, and  
 a ftrong defpair of any other expedient, prevailed fo  
 far with his Majesty, that he refolved, upon what  
 terms foever, to embark himfelf, in *Holland*, upon

B O O K  
 XII.

The King  
 refolves for  
 Scotland.

**B O O K** a Fleet which the Prince of *Orange* provided for him;  
**XII.** and so with all the *Scottish*, and very few *English*  
 Servants, to set Sail for *Scotland*.

Arguments of  
 some Lords  
 against the  
 King's going  
 to Scotland.

There were two very strong Arguments, which made deep impression on those Lords who very vehemently dissuaded, and ever protested against his Majesty's going for *Scotland*, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the highest importance, they could not make use of to convert others, especially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The first, "that the Expedition of Duke *Hamilton* the  
 " year before, with an Army as numerous, and much  
 " better furnished, and provided, than *Scotland* could  
 " in many years be again enabled to send out, made  
 " it manifest enough, how little that Nation, how  
 " united soever, could prevail against the force of  
 " *England*;" the other, "that the whole, and absolute power of *Scotland* being, at that time, confessedly vested in the Marquis of *Argyle*, it might reasonably be feared, and expected, that the King  
 " should no sooner arrive there, and the least appearance be discovered of such resolutions, or alterations in the Affections of the People, upon which  
 " the *Hamiltonian* Faction wholly and solely depended, but *Argyle* would immediately deliver up  
 " the Person of the King into the hands of *Cromwell*;  
 " and with the Assistance He would willingly give, make that Kingdom tributary or subservient to him, whilst the King remained his Prisoner, and *Argyle*  
 " continued his Vice-gerent in *Scotland*." No doubt these objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of Apprehension, by many Men,

who were not blinded with passion, or amazed with despair: and though they were not able to give any other Counsel, what Course the King might steer with reasonable hope and security, they might yet warrantably dissuade his exposing himself to so many visible dangers as that Voyage was subject to both at Sea and Land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of King, in what obscurity soever, in any part of the world, was to be preferred before the empty name of King in any of his own Dominions; which was the best, that could reasonably be expected from the conditions which were imposed upon him; to which he was compelled to submit.

During this time, when the Ambassadors who were in *Spain*, expected every day to hear of his Majesty's being arrived in *Ireland*, and had thereupon importuned that Court for a despatch, the King gave them notice of his resolution, and directed them "to remain where they were, till he could better judge of his own Fortune." They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a strong aversion that the King should ever venture himself in the hands of that Party of the *Scottish* Nation, which had treated his Father so perfidiously. And they were now necessitated to stay there, where they had received so little Encouragement, and had no reason to expect more. They therefore resolved to set the best face they could upon it, and desired an Audience from the King: in which they told his Catholic Majesty, "that they had received Letters from the King their Master; who commanded them to inform his Majesty, who, he

B O O K  
XII.

The two Ambassadors in Spain had Order from the King to stay where they were.

They acquaint the King of Spain with their Master's



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resolution for  
Scotland.

" knew well, would be glad to hear of any good  
 " fortune that befel him, that it had now pleased God  
 " to work so far upon the hearts and actions of his  
 " Subjects of *Scotland*, that they had given over all  
 " those Factions and Animofities, which had hereto-  
 " fore divided them, and made them rather Instru-  
 " ments of mischiefs, than benefit to his blessed  
 " Father, and to himself: that they were now sensi-  
 " ble of all those Miscarriages, and had sent unani-  
 " mously to intreat his Majesty to come into that  
 " Kingdom, and to take them all into his Protection;  
 " with which his Majesty was so well satisfied, that  
 " he had laid aside the thought of transporting him-  
 " self into *Ireland*; which he had intended to do; and  
 " was gone into *Scotland*; where the Kingdom was  
 " entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could  
 " visit *England*, or *Ireland*, as he found it most con-  
 " venient: and that he had reason to believe, that  
 " his friends in either of the Kingdoms, would  
 " quickly appear in Arms, when they were sure to  
 " be so powerfully assisted, and seconded." And they  
 " said, " they would, from time to time, inform his  
 " Majesty of the good success that should fall out."

The King of  
Spain's  
Answer to  
him.

The King professed " to be very glad of this good  
 " News; and that they should assure the King their  
 " Master, that he would be always ready to make all  
 " the demonstration of a Brotherly Affection that the  
 " ill condition of his own Affairs would permit, and  
 " that, if it pleased God to give a Peace to the two  
 " Crowns, the world should see how forward he  
 " would be to revenge the wrong, and indignity  
 " the King of great *Britain* had undergone.

Though the Ambassadors themselves were afflicted

with the News of his Majesty's being gone for *Scotland*, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that Faction there, yet they found his Majesty was so much the more esteemed in this Court by it. He was before looked upon as being dispossessed, and disinherited of all his Dominions, as if he had no more Subjects than those few who were banished with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the rest. But now that he was possessed of one whole Kingdom, in which no Man appeared in Arms against him, a Kingdom which had been famous for many warlike actions, and which always bred a very warlike People, which had borne good parts in all the Wars of *Europe* in this Age, and had been celebrated in them, was a happy advance, and administered reasonable hope that he might be established in the other two Kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous Army on Foot at that very time: so that the Ambassadors were much better looked upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the *English* Merchants who lived in the Ports of *Spain*, as they had sometimes occasion to do, upon Taxes and Impositions laid upon them, contrary to the Treaties which had been made, and which they said were still in force, they were heard with respect; the Merchants were relieved; and many favors were done to particular Persons upon their desires and interposition: so that they were not so much out of Countenance as they had been, and all Men spoke with more freedom and detestation against the Rebellion in *England*, and the barbarity thereof, than they had used to do.

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There fell out at this time, and before the King left *Holland*, an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of *Scotland*, determined that the King should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that Nation, could not but have diverted his Majesty from that Northern Expedition; which, how unsecure soever it appeared to be for the King, was predestinated for a greater chastisement and mortification of that People, as it shortly after proved to be. When the King had left *Holland*, the Summer before, and intended only to make *France* his way to *Ireland*, he had given his Commission to the Marquis of *Mountrose*, to gather such a force together as by the help of the Northern Princes he might be enabled to do. Upon which the Marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of Success, sent several Officers who had served in *Germany*, and promised very much, to draw such Troops together as they should be enabled to do, and himself, with a great train of Officers and Servants, went for *Hamburgh*; which he appointed for the Rendezvous for all these Troops, and from whence he could in the mean time visit such Courts of the Neighbour-Princes and States, as he should be encouraged to do; and keep such Intelligence with his Friends in *Scotland*, as should provide for his reception.

The Marquis  
of Mountrose  
goes for  
*Hamburgh* to  
wait for  
the King.

Besides the hopes and encouragement he had received from the Ambassador of *Wolfelte*, to expect good Supplies in *Denmark*, there were many Officers of good name and account in *Sweden*, of the *Scottish* Nation, who were grown Rich, and lived in plenty

in that Kingdom. With the principal of Them, the Marquis had held correspondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themselves, “that if the Marquis engaged himself in the King’s Service in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, they would give him notable Assistance in Money, Arms, and Men.” In a word, he sent, or went in Person, to both those Kingdoms; where he found the performance very disproportionable to their promises. Queen *Christina* had received an Agent from *England* with wonderful Civility and Grace, and expressed a great esteem of the Person of *Cromwell*, as a Man of glorious Achievements; and before she resigned the crown, which she in few years after did, she engaged it in a fast Alliance with the new Commonwealth, and disposed her Successor to look upon it as a necessary Support to his Crown. In *Denmark*, the Marquis found good Wishes enough, a hearty detestation of all the Villanies which had been acted in *England*, and as hearty wishes for the Advancement and Prosperity of the king’s Affairs; but the Kingdom itself was very Poor, and full of Discontent, the King not so much esteemed, because not so much feared, as his Father had been, and he had been compelled to make many unreasonable Concessions to *Holland*, that he might have Assistance from them, to Protect him from those Assaults and Invasions which were threatened from *Sweden*. So that the Marquis was obliged to return to *Hamburgh*, with very small Supplies, from either or both those Kingdoms: and there he received no better account from those Officers who had been sent into *Germany*. His design had always been to Land in the High-lands of *Scotland*,



B O O K before the Winter-Season should be over , both for  
 XII. the safety of his Embarkation , and that he might have time to draw those People together, who, he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it should be known at *Edinburgh* that he was Landed in the Kingdom. He had, by frequent Messages, kept a constant correspondence with those principal Heads of the Clans who were most powerful in the High-lands, and were of known, or unsuspected Affection to the King, and advertised them of all his motions and designs. And by them acquainted those of the Low-lands of all his Resolutions; who had promised, upon the first notice of his arrival, to resort with all their Friends and Followers to him.

Whether these Men did really believe, that their own strength would be sufficient to subdue their Enemies, who were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing over Troops of Foreigners would lessen the Numbers and Affections of the Natives, they did write very earnestly to the Marquis, “ to hasten his coming over with Officers, Arms, and “ Ammunition;” for which he should find hands enough; and gave him notice, “ that the Committee “ of Estates at *Edinburgh* had sent again to the “ King to come over to them; and that the People “ were so impatient for his presence, that *Argyle* was “ compelled to consent to the Invitation.” It is very probable that this made the greatest impression upon him. He knew very well how few Persons there were about the King, who were like to continue firm in those principles, which could only confirm his Majesty in his former Resolutions against the persuasions,

and importunities of many others, who knew how to represent to him the desperateness of his condition any other way, than by repairing into *Scotland* upon any Conditions. *Mountrose* knew, that of the two Factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacable Enemies; so that whichsoever prevailed, He should be still in the same State, the whole Kirk, of what temper soever, being alike malicious to Him; and hearing likewise of the successive Misfortunes in *Ireland*, he concluded, the King would not trust himself there. Therefore upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from *Germany* and those Northern Princes would not increase the strength he had already, he caused, in the depth of the Winter, those Soldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be Embarked, and sent Officers with them, who knew the Country, with directions that they should Land in such a place in the High-lands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or sent them Orders. And then in another Vessel Manned by People well known to him, and Commanded by a Captain very faithful to the King, and who was well acquainted with that Coast, he Embarked himself, and near one hundred Officers, and Landed in another Creek, not far from the other place, whither his Soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other Party were set safely on Shore in the places they designed; from whence the Marquis himself with some Servants, and Officers, repaired presently to the House of a Gentleman of Quality, with whom he had corresponded, who ex-

**R O O K** XII. pected him; by whom he was well received, and thought himself to be in security till he might put his Affairs in some method: and therefore ordered his other small Troops to contain themselves in those uncouth Quarters, in which they were, and where he thought they were not like to be disturbed by the visitation of any Enemy.

Publishes his Declaration.

After he had stayed there a short time, it being in *March* about the end of the year 1649, he quickly possessed himself of an old Castle; which, in respect of the Situation in a Country so impossible for any Army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose: thither he conveyed the Arms, Ammunition, and Troops, which he had brought with him. And then he published his Declaration, " that he  
 " came with the King's Commission, to assist those  
 " his good Subjects, and to preserve them from oppression: that he did not intend to give any interruption to the Treaty that he heard was entered into with his Majesty; but, on the contrary, hoped  
 " that his being in the head of an Army, how small soever, that was faithful to the King, might advance the same. However, he had given sufficient proof in his former Actions, that if any Agreement were made with the King, upon the first Order from his Majesty, he should lay down his Arms, and dispose himself according to his Majesty's good pleasure." These Declarations he sent to his Friends to be scattered by them, and dispersed amongst the People, as they could be able. He writ likewise to those of the Nobility, and the heads of the several Clans, " to draw such Forces together, as

“ they thought necessary to join with him ;” and he received Answers from many of them, by which they desired him “ to advance more into the Land (for he was yet in the remotest parts of *Cathness*) and assured him, “ that they would meet him with good Numbers :” and they did prepare so to do, some really, and others, with a purpose to betray him.

In this state stood the Affair in the end of the year 1649 : but because the unfortunate Tragedy of that noble Person succeeded so soon after, without the intervention of any notable circumstances to interrupt it, we will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be resumed in the proper season ; which quickly ensued, in the beginning of the next year. The Marquis of *Argyle* was vigilant enough, to observe the motion of an Enemy that was so formidable to him ; and had present information of his Arrival in the High-lands, and of the small Forces which he had brought with him. The Parliament was then sitting at *Edinburgh*, their Messenger being returned to them from *Jersey*, with an account, “ that the King would treat with their Commissioners at *Breda* ;” for whom they were preparing their Instructions.

The Alarm of *Mountrose*'s being landed startled them all, and gave them no leisure to think of any thing else than of sending Forces to hinder the recourse of others to join with him. They immediately sent Colonel *Straghan* a diligent and active Officer, with a choice Party of the best Horse they had, to make all possible haste towards him, and to prevent the Insurrections, which they feared would be in

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The continuation of  
Mountrose's  
Affairs, after  
the end of  
the year 49.  
to his death.

Colonel Straghan sent  
against him  
and his small  
Forces.



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several parts of the High-lands. And, within few days after, *David Lesley* followed with a stronger Party of Horse and Foot. The encouragement the Marquis of *Mountrose* received from his Friends, and the unpleasantness of the Quarters in which he was, prevailed with him to march, with these few Troops, more into the Land. And the High-landers flocking to him from all Quarters, though ill Armed, and worse Disciplined, made him undervalue any Enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. *Straghan* made such haste, that the Earl of *Southerland*, who at least pretended to have gathered together a Body of fifteen hundred Men to meet *Mountrose*, chose rather to join with *Straghan*: others did the like, who had made the same promises, or staid at home to expect the event of the first Encounter. The Marquis was without any Body of Horse to discover the motion of an Enemy, but depended upon all necessary Intelligence from the affection of the People; which he believed to be the same it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the Tyranny of *Argyle* and his having caused very many to be barbarously murdered, without any form of Law or Justice, who had been in Arms with *Mountrose*, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon, and Indemnity, had so broken their hearts, that they were ready to do all Offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that *Straghan* was within a small distance of him, before he heard of his approach; and those High-landers, who had seemed to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified, or corrupted, left him on a sudden, or threw down their Arms; so that he had none left,

left, but a Company of good Officers, and five or six hundred Foreigners, *Dutch and Germans*, who had been acquainted with their Officers. With these, he betook himself to a place of some advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the bushes and small shrubs which filled it: and there they made a defence for some time with notable Courage.

But the Enemy being so much superior in number, the Common-Soldiers, being all Foreigners, after about a hundred of them were killed upon the Place, threw down their Arms; and the Marquis, seeing all lost, threw away his Ribbon and *George* (for he was Knight of the Garter) and found means to change his Clothes with a Fellow of the Country, and so

By whom  
Mountrose  
is routed.

after having gone on foot two or three miles, he got into a House of a Gentleman, where he remained concealed about two days: most of the other Officers were shortly after taken Prisoners, all the Country desiring to merit from *Argyle* by betraying all those into his hands which they believed to be his Enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the House, or any other way, the Marquis himself became their Prisoner. The Strangers who were taken, were set at Liberty, and Transported themselves into their own Countries; and the Castle, in which there was a little Garrison, presently rendered itself; so that there was no more fear of an Enemy in those parts.

The Marquis  
of Mount-  
rose taken  
Prisoner.

The Marquis of *Mountrose*, and the rest of the Prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, delivered to *David Lesley*; who was come up with his Forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in Triumph to *Edinburgh*; whither Notice was

**B O O K** quickly sent of their great Victory; which was received there with wonderful joy, and acclamation. *David Lesley* treated the Marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same Clothes, and Habit, in which he was taken; but at last permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, such as became a great Man; his countenance Serene and Cheerful, as one that was superior to all those reproaches, which they had prepared the People to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass.

**Brought to**  
**Edinburgh.** When he came to one of the Gates of *Edinburgh*, he was met by some of the Magistrates, to whom he was delivered, and by them presently put into a new Cart purposely made, in which there was a high Chair, or Bench, upon which he sat, that the People might have a full view of him, being bound with a Chord drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the Cart. When he was in this posture, the Hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the Cart in his Livery, and with his Bonnet on; the other Officers, who were taken Prisoners with him, walking two and two before the Cart; the Streets; and Windows being full of People to behold the Triumph over a Person whose Name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the Magistrates of that place had, upon their Knees, delivered the Keys of that City.

**He is brought**  
**before the**  
**Parliament;** In this manner he was carried to the Common Goal, where he was received and treated as a Common Malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of *Lowden*, the

Chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent Declaration against him: told him, "he had broken all the Covenants by which that whole Nation stood obliged; and had impiously rebelled against God, the King, and the Kingdom; that he had committed many horrible Murders, Treasons, and Impieties, for all which he was now brought to suffer condigna punishment;" with all those insolent reproaches upon his Person, and his actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

Permission was then given him to speak; and without the least trouble in his countenance, or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffered. he told them, "since the King had owned them so far as to treat with them, he had appeared before them with reverence, and bare-headed, which otherwise he would not willingly have done: that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to repent; that the first Covenant, he had taken, and complied with it, and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discovered, which was now evident to all the world, that private and particular Men designed to satisfy their own ambition and interest, instead of considering the Public benefit; and that, under the pretence of reforming some errors in Religion, they resolved to abridge, and take away the King's just power, and lawful authority, he had withdrawn himself from that Engagement: that for the League and Covenant, he had never taken it, and therefore could not break it: and it was now too apparent to the whole

His behaviour there.



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“ Christian World, what monstrous mischiefs it had  
 “ produced : that when, under color of it, an Army  
 “ from *Scotland* had invaded *England* in Assistance  
 “ of the Rebellion that was then against their Lawful  
 “ King, he had, by his Majesty’s Command, received  
 “ a Commission from him to raise Forces in *Scotland*,  
 “ that he might thereby divert them from the other  
 “ odious prosecution: that he had executed that  
 “ Commission with the obedience and duty he owed  
 “ to the King; and in all the circumstances of it, had  
 “ proceeded like a Gentleman; and had never suf-  
 “ fered any Blood to be shed but in the heat of the  
 “ Battle; and that he saw many Persons there, whose  
 “ lives he had saved: that when the King command-  
 “ ed him, he laid down his Arms, and withdrew  
 “ out of the Kingdom; which they could not have  
 “ compelled him to have done. He said, he was now  
 “ again entered into the Kingdom by his Majesty’s  
 “ Command, and with his Authority: and what  
 “ Success soever it might have pleased God to have  
 “ given him, he would always have obeyed any  
 “ commands he should have received from him.” He  
 advised them, “ to consider well of the consequence  
 “ before they proceeded against him, and that all  
 “ his Actions might be examined, and judged by the  
 “ Laws of the Land, or those of Nations.

As soon as he had ended his discourse, he was  
 ordered to withdraw; and, after a short space, was  
 again brought in; and told by the Chancellor, “ that  
 “ he was, on the Morrow, being the one-and-twen-  
 “ tieth of *May* 1650, to be carried to *Edinburgh*.  
 “ Cross, and there to be hanged upon a Gallows

The Sentence  
 against him.

“ thirty foot high, for the space of three hours, and  
 “ then to be taken down, and his head to be cut off  
 “ upon a Scaffold, and hanged on *Edinburgh-Tol-*  
 “ booth; his Legs and Arms to be hanged up in  
 “ other public Towns of the Kingdom, and his body  
 “ to be buried at the place where he was to be exe-  
 “ cuted, except the Kirk should take off his Excom-  
 “ munication; and then his body might be buried  
 “ in the common place of burial.” He desired, “ that  
 “ he might say somewhat to them;” but was not  
 suffered, and so was carried back to the Prison.

That he might not enjoy any ease or quiet during  
 the short remainder of life, their Ministers came pre-  
 sently to insult over him with all the reproaches ima-  
 ginable; pronounced his damnation; and assured  
 him, “ that the judgment he was the next day to  
 “ suffer, was but an easy Prologue to that which he  
 “ was to undergo afterwards.” After many such bar-  
 barities, they offered to intercede for him to the Kirk  
 upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he  
 too well understood the form of Their Common-  
 Prayer, in those Cases, to be only the most virulent,  
 and insolent imprecations upon the Persons of those  
 they prayed against “ ( Lord, vouchsafe Yet to touch  
 “ the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible Sin-  
 “ ner, this wicked, perjured, and prophane Person,  
 “ who refuses to hearken to the voice of thy Kirk,”  
 and the like charitable expressions ) and therefore he  
 desired them “ to spare their pains, and to leave him  
 “ to his own Devotions.” He told them, “ that they  
 “ were a miserable, deluded, and deluding People;  
 “ and would shortly bring that poor Nation under

His discourse  
 with the  
 Presbyterian  
 Ministers.

BOOK XII. " the most insupportable Servitude, ever People had  
 " submitted to." He told them, " he was prouder to  
 " have his head set upon the place it was appointed  
 " to be, than he could have been to have had his  
 " Picture hang in the King's Bed-Chamber: that he  
 " was so far from being troubled that his four Limbs  
 " were to be hanged in four Cities of the Kingdom,  
 " that he heartily wished that he had flesh enough to  
 " be sent to every City in *Christendom*, as a Testi-  
 " mony of the Cause for which he suffered."

His Execu-  
 tion.

The next day, they executed every part and circumstance of that barbarous Sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greatest piety, that a good Christian could manifest. He magnified the virtue, courage, and Religion of the last King, exceedingly commended the justice, and goodness, and understanding of the present King; and prayed, " that they might not betray Him, as they had done " his Father." When he had ended all he meant to say, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one Scene more to Act of their Tyranny, the Hangman brought the Book that had been published of his truly Heroic Actions, whilst he had commanded in that Kingdom, which Book was tied in a small Chord that was put about his Neck. The Marquis smiled at this new instance of their Malice, and thanked them for it; and said, " he was pleased that it should " be there; and was prouder of wearing it than " ever he had been of the Garter;" and so renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last Act of the Executioner.

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The Execution of his Officers.

Soon after, the Officers who had been taken with him, Sir *William Urry*, Sir *Francis Hay*, and many others, of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in several quarters of the Kingdom; many of them being suffered to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to save, one Colonel *Whitford*; who, when he was brought to die, said "he knew the reason why he was put to death; which was only because he had killed *Dorislaus* at the *Hague*;" who was one of those who had joined in the Murder of the last King. One of the Magistrates, who were present to see the Execution, caused it to be suspended, till he presently informed the Council what the Man had said; and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and so preserved the Gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that Action.

Thus died the gallant Marquis of *Mountrose*, after he had given as great a Testimony of Loyalty, and Courage, as a Subject can do, and performed as wonderful Actions in several Battles, upon as great inequality of Numbers, and as great disadvantages in respect of Arms, and other preparations for War, as have been performed in this Age. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction, many of whose Ancestors had exercised the highest Charges under the King in that Kingdom, and had been allied to the Crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improved by a good Education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of *Argyle* (as he was too apt to contemn

His Character



BOOK  
XII.

those he did not love) who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary Man, having all other good Talents in a very great degree. *Mountrose* was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any Enterprize for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate to other Men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other Men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility, and generosity) than with his Superiors or Equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without Vanity, but his Virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his Memory preserved, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious Persons of the Age in which he lived.

The King  
receives the  
News of all  
his

The King received an Account and Information of all these particulars, before he embarked from *Holland*, without any other Apology for the Affront and Indignity to himself, than that they assured him, "that the proceeding against the late Marquis of *" Mountrose* had been for his Service." They who were most displeased with *Argyle* and his Faction, were not sorry for this inhuman, and monstrous prosecution; which at the same time must render him the more odious, and had rid them of an Enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they persuaded the King, who was enough afflicted with the News, and all the circumstances of it, "that he might sooner take revenge

“ upon that People by a temporary complying with  
 “ them. and going to them, than staying away, and  
 “ absenting himself, which would invest them in an  
 “ absolute Dominion in that Kingdom, and give  
 “ them power to corrupt or destroy all those who  
 “ yet remained faithful to him, and were ready to  
 “ spend their lives in his Service:” and so his Ma-  
 jesty pursued his former resolution of embarking  
 for *Scotland*.

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In *Ireland*, after the Massacre of that Body of *Eng-*  
*lish* at *Tredagh*, and the treacherous giving up the  
 Towns in *Munster*, by the Officers of the Lord *Inchi-*  
*quin*, there broke out so implacable a jealousy amongst  
 the *Irish* against all the *English*, that no Orders of the  
 Marquis of *Ormond* found any obedience, nor could  
 he draw an Army together. At the making of the  
 Peace, he had consented that the Confederate Roman-  
 Catholics should name a Number of the Commis-  
 sioners, by whose Orders and Ministry all Levies of  
 Men, and all Collections of Money were to be made,  
 according to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant.  
 And such Persons were named, in whose Affections,  
 for the most part, the Lieutenant was well satisfied,  
 and the rest were such as were not like to be able to  
 give any interruption. A certain Number of these  
 were appointed to be always in the Army, and near  
 the Person of the Lord-Lientenant, and the rest in  
 their several Stations, where they were most like to  
 advance the Service. Many of these Commissioners  
 were of the Roman-Catholic Nobility, Persons of  
 Honor, and very sensible of the weakness, wilfulness,  
 and wickedness of that Rebellion; and did manifest

The affairs  
of Ireland.

**B O O K** all possible zeal and affection to the King's Service,  
**XII.** engaging their Persons in all Enterprises of danger, and using all possible industry to raise Men and Money, whereby the Lord Lieutenant might be enabled to carry on the War in the Spring. But many of the other, after those misfortunes had fallen out, which are mentioned before, either totally desponded, and rather thought of providing for themselves than for the preservation of the Public; or fomented the jealousies which were amongst the *Irish*, and incensed them against the *English*, who were still with the Lord Lieutenant; so that his Orders were not obeyed at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their Clergy and Friars publicly incensed the People against the Articles of the Peace, and desired to have an Army raised apart under a General of their own.

The Lord Lieutenant now discovered the Reason, why *Owen O Neile* had refused to consent to the Peace which the Confederate Roman-Catholics had made with the King, and kept his Army in *Ulster* from submitting thereunto, and pretended to desire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the jealousy that was between Him and *Preston*, and the Animosity between those old *Irish* of *Ulster*, and the others of the other Provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the Marquis of *Ormond's* transporting himself out of *France*, and that the correspondence was discovered to be between Him and the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Treaty begun with the Confederate Catholics, the close Committee at *Westminster* sent secret Instructions to *Monk*, who Commanded part of their

Forces in *Ireland*, "that he should endeavour to treat  
 " with *Owen O Neile*, and so divide him from the rest  
 " of the *Irish*;" which *Monk* found opportunity to  
 do: and it was no sooner proposed than hearkened  
 unto by *O Neile*; who presently sent a trusty Mes-  
 senger with such Propositions to *Monk*, as he desired  
 to have granted to him. He offered, "with his Army,  
 " which should always consist of such a Number of  
 " Horse and Foot, and Artillery. as should be agreed  
 " between them, to serve the Parliament; and not  
 " to separate from their Interest;" and proposed,  
 "that he, and all his Party that should adhere to  
 " him, should enjoy the Exercise of their Religion,  
 " without any prejudice or disadvantage: that him-  
 " self might be restored to those Lands which his  
 " Ancestors had been possessed of in *Tyrone*, *London-*  
 " *Derry*, or any other parts of *Ireland*; and that all  
 " those, who had or would adhere to him, should  
 " be likewise restored to their Estates; and that an  
 " Act of Oblivion might be granted." *Monk* received  
 these Propositions; and after he had perused them,  
 he sent him word, "that there were some particulars,  
 " which, he doubted, would shock and offend the  
 " Parliament, and therefore desired they might be  
 " altered;" and proposed the Alterations he advised;  
 which principally concerned the public Exercise of  
 their Religion; which he so qualified, that they  
 might well enough satisfy; and proposed, "that, if  
 " *O Neile* would consent to those Alterations, he  
 " would return the Treaty signed by him; which he  
 " would immediately send over to the Parliament for  
 " their confirmation; and that, in the mean time,

B O O K

xii.



**B O O K** “ there might be a Cessation of Arms between them  
**XII.** “ for three Months; in which time, and much less,  
 “ he presumed, he should receive a ratification of the  
 “ Treaty from the Parliament.”

*Owen O Neile* consented to the Alterations, set his Hand and Seal to the Treaty, and returned it to *Monk*, with his consent likewise to the Cessation for three Months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the Confederate Council at *Kilkenny* in the Peace with the King. *Monk* sent it presently to the Committee, which had given him Authority to do what he had done. But their Affairs were now better composed at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for *Ireland*; besides, they had not Authority to make any such ratification, but presented it to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the House was on fire; all Men inveighed against the presumption of *Monk*, who deserved to be displaced, and to have his Command taken from him, and to have exemplary punishment inflicted on him. They remembered how criminal they had declared it to be in the King himself, to have treated, and made a Peace with the *Irish* Rebels: and what would the People think, and say, if any countenance should be given to the same transgression by the Parliament? if they should ratify a Treaty made by the most notorious of the Rebels, and with that People under his Command, who were the most notorious Contrivers of that Rebellion, and the most bloody Executioners of it?”  
 for the most merciless Massacres had been committed

The House  
 refuses to ra-  
 tify *Monk's*  
 Treaty with  
*Owen O Neile*.

in *Ulster*, by that very People who now constituted that Army of which *Owen O Neile* was now General. After all the passion and choler which they thought necessary to express upon this subject, they declared, “ that they had given no Authority to *Monk* to enter “ into that Treaty ; and therefore, that it was void, “ and should never be confirmed by them ; but that, “ since he had proceeded out of the sincerity of his “ heart, and as he thought ( how erroneously soever ) “ for the good and benefit of the Common-wealth, “ he should be excused ; and no farther questioned “ thereupon.” For they knew well, that he could produce such a Warrant from those in Authority, as would well justify his proceeding : and so the Treaty with *Owen O Neile* became void, though they had received a very considerable benefit by it ; for though the *Scots* in *Ulster* had not yet submitted to the Peace, and had not received directions from *Edinburgh* to acknowledge the Authority of the Lord Lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the Murder of the late King, they had used all Acts of Hostility against the Parliament-Forces, and had besieged *London-Derry* ; the only considerable place that yielded obedience to the Parliament ; which was defended by Sir *Charles Coote*, and when it was brought to some extremity, by the Cessation made with *Owen O Neile*, and by his connivance and assistance, *London-Derry* was relieved ; and *O Neile* finding himself deluded by the Parliament, sent then to offer his Service and Conjunction to the Lord-Lieutenant, with abundant professions of fidelity, and revenge.

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*Cromwell*, made notable use of this Animosity between the *Irish* amongst themselves, and of the jealousy they all appeared to have of the Marquis of *Ormond* and of those who adhered to him; and used all the Endeavours he could, by some Prisoners who were taken, and by others who were in the Towns which were betrayed to him, and were well known to have affection for the Marquis, to procure a conference with him. He used to ask in such Company, "what the Marquis of *Ormond* had to do with *Charles Stuart*, and what obligations he had ever received from him?" and then would mention the hard measure his Grandfather had received from King *James*, and the many years Imprisonment he had sustained by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at last compelled to do. He said "he was confident, if the Marquis and He could meet together, upon conference, they should part very good friends." And many of those with whom he held these discourses, by his permission and licence, informed the Marquis of all he said; who endeavoured nothing but to put himself into such a Posture, as to be able to meet him as he desired to do.

When *Cromwell* saw that he should be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, besides the Army that yet remained under *Owen O Neile* so much disobliged, and provoked, there were still vast Bodies of the *Irish*, which might be drawn together into several Armies, much greater and superior in number to all his Forces, and that they had several great Towns, and strong holds in their power, he de-

*Cromwell*  
gives the  
*Irish* leave  
to transport  
themselves

clared a full Liberty, and Authority to all the Officers with the *Irish*, and to all other Persons whatsoever, to raise what Men they would, and to transport them for the service of any Foreign Princes with whom they could make the best conditions; and gave notice to the *Spanish* and *French* Ministers, and Agents at *London*, of the liberty he had granted. Upon which many Officers who had served the King, and remained in *London* in great poverty and want, made conditions with *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, to raise Regiments and transport them into *Spain*; and many Officers, who were already in *Spain*, as well *English* as *Irish*, contracted with the Ministers in that Court to raise and transport several Regiments into that Kingdom from *Ireland*; for which they received very great Sums of Money in hand; many Merchants joining with them in the Contract, and undertaking the transportation upon very good conditions; there being no other danger but of the Sea in the undertaking; insomuch that, in very few months above a year, there were embarked in the Ports of *Ireland* above five-and-twenty thousand Men for the Kingdom of *Spain*; whereof not half were ever drawn into the Field there, and very few ever lived to return. For the Officers and Masters of Ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their Men at such Ports as were assigned to them, and where care was taken for their reception, and conduct to the Quarters which were appointed, according to the service to which they were designed, either for *Catalonia*, or *Portugal* (after they had been long at Sea, by which the Soldiers, who were crowded more together into one ship than

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into any  
Prince's  
service.



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was fit for so long Voyages had contracted many diseases, and many were dead, and thrown over board) as soon as they came upon the Coast made all haste to Land, how far soever from the place at which they stood bound to deliver their Men; by which, in those places that could make resistance, they were not suffered to Land, and in others no Provision was made for their reception or march, but very great Numbers were starved or knocked in the head by the Country-People, and few ever came up to the Armies, except Officers; who flocked to *Madrid* for the remainder of their Monies; where the Ministers received them with reproaches for not observing their conditions, and refused to pay either them, or the Masters of the Ships, what remained to be paid by them. This was the Case of too many: though the truth is, where the Article were punctually observed, and the Ships arrived in the very Ports assigned, by the defect in the Orders sent from the Court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor Men were often kept from disembarking, till some Officers went to *Madrid*, and returned with more positive Orders, and afterwards so ill Provision was made for their refreshing and march, that rarely half of those who were shipped in *Ireland*, ever lived to do any Service in *Spain*: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the Ministers there should issue out such vast Sums in Money for the raising of Soldiers, and bringing them into the Kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the Officers, and take so very little care to cherish, and nourish them, when they came thither; which manifested how loose the Government was.

It

It is very true, that there was at that time a much stronger inclination in the *Irish* for the service of *Spain*, than of *France*; yet the Cardinal employed more active and dexterous Instruments to make use of the Liberty that was granted, and Shipping was more easily procured, the passage being shorter; insomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thousand Men at the same time Transported out of *Ireland* into the Kingdom of *France*; of whose behaviour in the one Kingdom and the other, there will be abundant Argument hereafter to discourse at large. In the mean time, it is enough to observe that when the King's Lieutenant, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts, which the Confederate Roman Catholics had made to, and with him, could not draw together a Body of five thousand Men (by which he might have been able to have given some stop to the current of *Cromwell's* successes) *Cromwell* himself found a way to send above forty thousand Men out of that Kingdom for the service of Foreign Princes; which might have been enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restored it to the King's entire obedience.

In *England*, the Spirits of all the loyal Party were so broken and subdued, that they could scarce breathe under the insupportable burdens which were laid upon them by imprisonments, compositions, and sequestrations. Whatever Articles they had made in the War, and whatever promises had been made of Pardon and Indemnity, they were now called upon to finish their Composition for their Delinquency, and paid dear for the credit they had given to the pro-

The low condition of the Loyal Party in England.

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XII.

essions and declarations of the Army, when it seemed to have pity, and complained of the severe and rigorous proceeding against the King's Party, and extorting unreasonable penalties from them; which then they desired might be moderated. But now the Mask was off they sequestered all their Estates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they should compound; which they were forced to do at so unreasonable rates, that many were compelled to sell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the support of their Families; which remainder was still liable to whatever impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their Persons were to Imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless report was raised of some Plot, and Conspiracy against the State.

The Parliament, which consisted only of those Members who had sat in Judgment, and had solemnly murdered the King, and of those who as solemnly under their hands had approved, and commended what the others had done, met with no opposition or contradiction from any but an entire submission from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own Army which had contributed most to the Grandeur and Empire of which they were possessed, the Levellers. That People had been countenanced by *Cromwell* to enter into Cabals and Confederacies to corrupt, and dissolve the discipline of the Army, and by his Artifices had been applied to bring all his crooked designs to pass. By them he broke the strict Union between the Parliament and the *Scots*, and then took the King out of the hands of the Parliament,

The Levellers  
mutiny: and  
are suppressed  
by Fairfax.

and kept him in the Army, with so many fair professions of intending better to his Majesty, and his Party, than the other did, by them the Presbyterians had been affronted, and trodden under foot, and the City of *London* exposed to disgrace and infamy; by them he had broken the Treaty of the *Isle of Wight*, driven out of the Parliament, by force of Arms, all those who desired peace, and at last executed his barbarous malice upon the Sacred Person of the King: and when he had applied them to all those uses, for which he thought them to be most fit, he hoped, and endeavoured to have reduced them again, by a severe hand, into that order and obedience, from whence he had seduced them, and which was now as necessary to his future purpose of Government. But they had tasted too much of the pleasure of having their part, and share in it, to be willing to be stripped, and deprived of it; and made an unskilful computation of what they should be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in those Changes and Revolutions which are mentioned; not considering, that the superior Officers of the Army were now united with the Parliament, and concurred entirely in the same designs. And therefore when they renewed their former Expostulations and Demands from the Parliament, they were Cashiered, and Imprisoned, and some of them put to death. Yet about the time that *Cromwell*, who had prosecuted them with great fury, was going for *Ireland*, they recovered their courage, and resolved to obtain those Concessions by force, which were refused to be granted upon their request: and so they mutinied in several Parts, upon



**B O O K** presumption that the rest of the Army, who would  
**XII.** not join with them in public, would yet never be prevailed with to oppose, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceived them; for the Parliament no sooner commanded their General *Fairfax* to suppress them, than he drew Troops together, and fell upon them at *Banbury*, *Burford*, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppressed that Faction; and the Orders of those at *Westminster* met with no more opposition.

This was the State and Condition of the three Kingdoms at the end of the year 1649, some few Months after the King Embarked himself in *Holland* for *Scotland*. And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate Actions, We will end this discourse, according to the method We have used, with this year: though hereafter We shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years in less room, whilst the King rested in a patient Expectation of God's Blessing, and Deliverance.

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THE  
History of the Rebellion, etc.  
B O O K XIII.

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Exod. ix. 16, 17.

*And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up,  
for to show in thee my power, and that my name may  
be declared throughout all the Earth. As yet exaltest  
thou thyself against my People?*

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THE Marquis of *Argyle*, who did not believe that the King would ever have ventured into *Scotland* upon the conditions he had sent, was surpris'd with the account the Commissioners had given him, "that his Majesty resolv'd to Embark the next day; that he would leave all his Chaplains, and his other Servants behind him, and only deferred to take the Covenant himself till he came thither, with a resolution to satisfy the Kirk if they press'd it." Thereupon he immediately despatch'd away another Vessel with new Propositions, which the Commissioners were to insist upon, and not to consent to the King's coming into that Kingdom, without He likewise consented to those. But that Vessel met not with the King's Fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the Parliament, which attended to intercept

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*Argyle*  
sent's new  
Propositions;  
which misst  
the King.

**B O O K** the King, had held its course more Northward, where  
**XIII.** there are good Harbours; and so had put into a Harbour near *Sterlin*, that is, within a day's Journey of it, but where there was no Town nearer than that for his Majesty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary Passengers.

The King  
 arrives in  
 Scotland.

From thence notice was sent to the Council of the King's arrival: the first welcome he received, was a new demand "that he would sign the Covenant " himself, before he set his foot on shore;" which all about him pressed him to do: and he now found, that he had made haste thither upon very unskilful imaginations, and presumptions: yet he consented unto what they so imperiously required, that he might have leave to put himself into the hands of those who resolved nothing less than to serve him. The Lords of the other Party, who had prevailed with him to submit to all that had been required of him, quickly found that they had deceived both Him and Themselves, and that no body had any authority but those Men who were their mortal Enemies. So that they would not expose themselves to be imprisoned, or to be removed from the King, but, with his Majesty's leave, and having given him the best advice they could, what he should do for Himself, and what he should do for Them, they put themselves on Shore before the King disembarked; and found means to go to those places where they might be some time concealed, and which were like to be at distance enough from the King. And shortly after Duke *Hamilton* retired to the Island of *Arran*, which belonged to himself; where he had a little House

The King  
 takes the  
 Covenant.

Hamilton and  
 Lauderdale

well enough accommodated, the Island being for the most part inhabited with wild Beasts: *Lautherdale* concealed himself amongst his Friends; taking care both to be well informed of all that should pass about the King, and to receive their advice upon any occasions.

The King was received by the Marquis of *Argyle* with all the outward respect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the *English* Servants he had of any Quality, were removed from his Person, the Duke of *Buckingham* only excepted. The rest, for the most part, were received into the Houses of some Persons of Honor, who lived at a distance from the Court, and were themselves under a cloud for their known affections, and durst only attend the King to kiss his hand, and then retired to their Houses that they might give no occasion of jealousy; others of his Servants were not suffered to remain in the Kingdom, but were forced presently to reembark themselves for *Holland*; amongst which was *Daniel O Neile*, who hath been often mentioned before, and who came from the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Holland*, just when his Majesty was ready to Embark, and so waited upon him; and was no sooner known to be with his Majesty (as he was a Person very generally known) but he was apprehended by order from the Council, for being an *Irish*-man, and having been in Arms on the late King's behalf in the late War; for which they were not without some discourse of putting him to death; but they did immediately banish him the Kingdom, and obliged him to sign a paper,

B O O K

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depart from  
the King.Argyle  
receives the  
King.Most of the  
King's English  
Servants re-  
moved from  
him.Daniel O  
Neile ap-  
prehended by  
order of the  
Council of  
Scotland;  
and banished.



**B O O K** by which he consented to be put to death, if he were  
**XIII** ever after found in the Kingdom.

Mr. Long also  
 sent away.

They sent away likewise Mr. *Robert Long*, who was his Principal, if not only, Secretary of State, and had very much persuaded his going thither; and Sir *Edward Walker*, who was Clerk of the Council, and had been Secretary at War during the late War, and some others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other Servants of all conditions about the King, but principally relied upon their Clergy; who were in such a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of instructing him in Religion: and so they obliged him to their constant hours of their long Prayers, and made him observe the *Sundays* with more rigor than the *Jews* accustomed to do their Sabbath; and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days; and if his looks and gestures did not please them, whilst all their Prayers and Sermons, at which he was compelled to be present, were libels, and bitter invectives against all the Actions of his Father, the Idolatry of his Mother, and his own Malignity.

Their Clergy  
 always about  
 the King.

Their Ser-  
 mons before  
 him.

He was not present in their Councils, nor were the results thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the least degree, communicated with, in any part of the Government: Yet they made great show of outward Reverence to him, and even the Chaplains, when they used Rudeness and Barbarity in their reprehensions and reproaches, approached him still with bended knees, and in the humblest postures. There was never a better Courtier than *Argyle*; who used

all-possible address to make himself gracious to the King, entertained him with very pleasant discourses, with such insinuations, that the King did not only very well like his Conversation, but often believed that he had a mind to please and gratify him: but then, when his Majesty made any attempt to get some of his Servants about him, or to reconcile the two Factions, that the Kingdom might be united, he gathered up his countenance, and retired from him, without ever yielding to any one Proposition that was made to him by his Majesty. In a word, the King's Table was well served; there he sat in Majesty, waited upon with decency: he had good Horses to ride abroad to take the Air, and was then well attended; and, in all public Appearances seemed to want nothing that was due to a great King. In all other respects, with reference to Power to oblige or gratify any Man, to dispose or order any thing, or himself to go to any other place than was assigned to him, he had nothing of a Prince, but might very well be looked upon as a Prisoner.

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Argyle's  
behaviour to  
him.

But that which was of state and lustre made most noise, and was industriously transmitted into all Nations and States; the other of disrespect or restraint, was not communicated; and if it could not be entirely concealed, it was considered only as a Faction between particular great Men, who contended to get the Power into their hands, that they might the more notoriously and eminently serve that Prince whom they all equally acknowledged. The King's Condition seemed wonderfully advanced, and his being possessed of a Kingdom without a Rival, in

**B O O K** which there was no appearance of an Enemy, looked  
**XIII.** like an earnest for the Recovery of the other Two, and, for the present, as a great addition of Power to him in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, by a conjunction, and absolute Submission of all the *Scots* in *Ulster* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant there.

All Men who had dissuaded his Majesty to repair into *Scotland*, were looked upon as very weak Politicians, or as Men who opposed the Public good, because they were excluded, and might not be suffered to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the design, valued themselves exceedingly upon their activity in that Service. The States of *Holland* thought they had merited much in suffering their Ships to Transport him, and so being ministerial to his greatness; which they hoped would be remembered; and they gave all Countenance to the *Scottish* Merchants and Factors who lived in their Dominions, and some secret Credit, that they might send Arms and Ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the King's Service in that Kingdom. *France* itself looked very cheerfully upon the change; Congratulated the Queen with much Ceremony, and many Professions; and took pains to have it thought and believed, that they had had a share in the Counsel, and contributed very much to the reception the King found in *Scotland*, by their influence upon *Argyle* and his Party. And it hath been mentioned before, how great a Reputation this little dawning of Power, how clouded soever, gave to the Ambassadors in *Spain*, and had raised them, from such a degree of disrespect, as was near to contempt,

to the full dignity and estimation in that Court that was due to the Station in which they were.

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There fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifestation of the Affection of that Court, and indeed of the Nation. As *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* had used all the Credit he had, to dispose that Court to a good correspondence with the Parliament, so he had employed as much care to encline those in *England* to have a confidence in the Affection of his Master, and assured them, "that if they would send an Ambassador, or other Minister into *Spain*, he should find a good reception." The Parliament, in the infancy of their Common-wealth, had more inclination to make a Friendship with *Spain* than with *France*, having at that time a very great prejudice to the Cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from *Don Alonzo*, they resolved to send an Envoy to *Madrid*; and made choice of one *Ascham*, a Scholar, who had been concerned in drawing up the King's Trial, and had written a Book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the Allegiance which is due from Subjects to their Sovereigns, comes to be determined after a Conquest; and that, from that term, it ought to be paid to those who had subdued them: a speculation they thought fit to cherish.

*Ascham* sent  
Agent into  
*Spain* from the  
Parliament  
of *England*.

This Man, unacquainted with business, and unskilled in languages, attended by three others, the one a Renegado *Franciscan*-Friar, who had been bred in *Spain*, and was well versed in the Language; another, who was to serve in the condition of a Secretary; and the third, an inferior Fellow for any Service, arrived



- B O O K** all in *Spain* in an *English* Merchant's Ship : of which  
**XIII.** *Don Alonzo* gave such timely notice , that he was received and entertained by the chief Magistrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the Court. The Town was quickly full of the rumor, that an Ambassador was landed from *England* , and would be received there ; which no body seemed to be well pleased with. And the Ambassadors expostulated with *Don Lewis de Haro* with some warmth, " that " his Catholic Majesty should be the first Christian Prince that would receive an Ambassador from the " odious, and execrable Murderers of a Christian " King, his Brother and Ally ; which no other Prince " had yet done, out of the detestation of that hor- " rible Parricide : " and therefore they desired him, " that *Spain* would not give so infamous an example " to the other parts of the world." *Don Lewis* assured them, " that there was no such thing as an Amba- " sador coming from *England* , nor had the King any " purpose to receive any : that it was true, they " were informed that there was an *English* Gentleman " landed at *Cadiz*, and come to *Seville* ; who said, he " was sent from the Parliament with Letters for the " King ; which was testified by a Letter from *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* to the Duke of *Medina Celi* ; who " thereupon had given Order for his entertainment " at *Seville*, till the King should give further order : " That it was not possible for the King to refuse to " receive the Letter, or to see the Man who brought " it ; who pretended no kind of Character : That " having an Ambassador residing in *England* to pre- " serve the Trade and Commerce between the two

The Ambaf-  
sadors there  
expostulate  
with Don  
Lewis about it.

His Answer.

“ Nations, they did believe, that this Messenger might  
 “ be sent with some Propositions from the *English*  
 “ Merchants for the advancement of that Trade, and  
 “ if they should refuse to hear what he said, it might  
 “ give a just offence, and destroy all the Commerce;  
 “ which would be a great damage to both Nations.”

That this new Agent might come securely to *Madrid*, an old Officer of the Army was sent from *Seville* to accompany him thither; who came with him in the Coach; and gave notice every night to *Don Lewis* of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the *English* Merchants, many Officers and Soldiers in *Madrid*, who had served in the *Spanish* Armies, both in *Catalonia* and in *Portugal*; and these Men had consulted amongst themselves how they might kill this fellow, who came as an Agent from the new Republic of *England*; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the Town, which was generally discoursed of, rode out of the Town to meet him; but, missing him, they returned again, and found that he had entered into it by another way; and having taken a view of his lodging, they met again the next Morning; and finding, accidentally, one of the Ambassadors Servants in the streets, they persuaded him to go with them, and so went to the House where *Ascham* lodged; and, without asking any Questions, walked directly up the stairs into his Chamber, leaving a couple of their number at the door of the street, lest, upon any noise in the House, that door might be shut upon them. They who went up, drew their Swords; and besides their intentions, in disorder, killed the Friar as well

**B O O K** as the Agent ; and so returned to their Companions

**XIII.** with their Swords naked and bloody, and some

Aschem killed  
by some  
Officers at his  
Lodgings in  
Madrid.

foolish expressions of triumph, as if they had performed a very gallant and a justifiable Service. Notwithstanding all which, they might have dispersed themselves, and been secure, the People were so little concerned to inquire what they had done. But they being in confusion, and retaining no composed thoughts about them, finding the door of a little Chapel open, went in thither for sanctuary : Only he who was in Service of the Ambassadors, separated himself from the rest, and went into the House of the *Venetian* Ambassador. By this time the People of the House where the Man lay, had gone up into the Chamber ; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the Bed ; and the Magistrates and People were about the Church, and talking with, and examining the Persons who were there : and the Rumor was presently divulged about the Town, “that one of the *English* Ambassadors was killed.”

All but one fly  
to a Chapel for  
sanctuary ; he,  
to the Vene-  
tian Amba-  
sador's.

They were at that time entering into their Coach to take the Air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were informed of what had passed, and that *Harry Progers*, who was their Servant, had been in the Action, and was retired to the House of the *Venetian* Ambassador, they were in trouble and perplexity ; dismissed their Coach, and returned to their lodging. Though they abhorred the Action that was committed, they foresaw, the presence of one of their own Servants in it, and even some passionate words they had used, in

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their expostulation with *Don Lewis*, against the reception of such a Messenger, as if “the King their Master  
 “ had too many Subjects in that place, for such a fellow to appear there with any security,” would make it be believed by many, that the attempt had not been made without their consent or privity. In this trouble of mind, they immediately writ a Letter to *Don Lewis de Haro*, to express the sense they had of this unfortunaterash Action; “of which, they hoped, he did believe, if they had had any notice or suspicion, they would have prevented it.” *Don Lewis* returned them a very dry Answer; “That he could not imagine that they could have a hand in so foul an Assassination in the Court (for all *Madrid* is called, and looked upon as the Court) “of a Person under the immediate Protection of the King: however, that it was an Action so unheard of, and so dishonorable to the King, that his Majesty was resolved to have it examined to the bottom, and that exemplary Justice should be done upon the Offenders: that his own Ambassador in *England* might be in great danger upon this Murder; and that they would send an Express presently thither to satisfy the Parliament how much his Catholic Majesty detested, and was offended with it, and resolved to do Justice upon it; and if his Ambassador underwent any inconvenience There, they were not to wonder, if his Majesty were severe Here;” and so left it to Them to imagine that their own Persons might not be safe.

The Ambassadors write to Don Lewis about this action.

His Answer.

But they knew the temper of the Court too well, to have the least apprehension of that: yet they were



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Those that  
fled to the  
Chapel are  
taken thence,  
and impris-  
oned; the  
other escapes  
into France.

a little surpris'd, when they first saw the Multitude of People, gathered together about their House, upon the first News of the Action; insomuch that the street before their House, which was the broadest in *Madrid* (the *Calle de Alcalá*) was so thronged, that Men could hardly pass. But they were quickly out of that apprehension, being assured, that the jealousy that one of the *English* Ambassadors had suffered Violence, had brought that Multitude together; which they found to be true; for they no sooner showed themselves in a Balcony to the People, but they saluted them with great kindness, prayed for the King their Master, cursed and reviled the Murderers of his Father; and so departed. They who had betaken themselves to the Chapel, were, the next day or the second, taken from thence by a principal Officer after Examination, and sent to the Prison: the other was not inquired after; but, having concealed himself for ten or twelve days, he went out of the Town in the night; and, without any interruption or trouble, went into *France*.

Of all the Courts in Christendom *Madrid* is that where Ambassadors, and Public Ministers, receive the greatest Respect; which, besides the Honor and Punctuality of that People, bred up in the observation of distances and order, proceeds from the excellent method the Ambassadors have of living with mutual respect towards each other, and in mutual concernment for each others Honor and Privileges: so that, if any Ambassador, in Himself or his Servants, receive any Affront or Disrespect, all the other Ambassadors repair to him; and offer their Service, and Interposition;

sition; by which means they are not only preserved from any Invasion by any private and particular Insolence, but even from some Acts of Power, which the Court itself hath some time thought fit to exercise, upon an extraordinary occasion, towards a Minister of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the Character; and will not suffer that to be done towards one, which, by the consequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagined, with what a general compassion all the Ambassadors looked upon these unhappy Gentlemen, who had involved themselves by their rashness in so much peril. They came to the *English* Ambassadors to Advise, and Consult what might be done to preserve them, every one offering his Assistance. The Action could in no degree be justified; all that could be urged and insisted upon in their behalf, was the Privilege of Sanctuary, "They  
" had betaken themselves to the Church; and the  
" taking them from thence, by what Authority  
" soever, was a violation of the Rights and Immuni-  
" ties of the Church, which, by the Law of the King-  
" dom, was ever defended with all tenderness. So  
" that before the guilt of the Blood could be exa-  
" mined, the Prisoners desired that their Privilege  
" might be examined, and that they might have  
" Council assigned them to that purpose;" which was granted; and several Arguments were made upon the matter of Law before the Judges; who were favorable enough to the Prisoners. The King's Council urged, "that in case of Assassination, the Privilege of  
" Sanctuary was never allowed" (which is true) and

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The Nuntio  
Rospiigliosi  
required them  
to be delivered  
back.

cited many Precedents of late years in *Madrid* itself, where, for less Crimes than of Blood, Men had been taken out of the Sanctuary, and tried, and executed. The *English* Ambassadors thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new Republic should receive so much Countenance from that Court, as would have resulted from putting those Gentlemen to death as if they had killed a Public Minister. The Pope's Nuntio, *Julio Rospiigliosi*, who was afterwards *Clement* the Ninth, could not, according to the Style of the Roman Court, either give or receive Visits from the *English* Ambassadors: but they performed Civilities to each other by Messages, and passed mutual Salutations, with all respect to each other, as they met abroad. And the *Venetian* Ambassadors brought them frequent assurances, "that  
" the Nuntio had spoken very effectually to the  
" King, and to *Don Lewis*, for the redelivery of the  
" Prisoners to the Church, and pressed it so hard upon  
" the Conscience of the King, that he had some pro-  
" mise that they should not suffer."

In the mean time, thundering Letters came from the Parliament, with great Menaces what they would do, if exemplary Justice was not inflicted upon those who had Murdered their Envoy; and *Don Alonzo* urged it, as if " he thought himself in danger  
" till full satisfaction should be given in that parti-  
" cular; all which for the present made deep im-  
" pression, so that they knew not what to do; the King often declaring " that he would not infringe the Pri-  
" vilege of the Church, and so undergo the cen-  
" sure of the Pope, for any advantage he could

“ receive with reference to any of his Dominions.” In the end ( that the discourse of this Affair may not be resumed again hereafter ) a long Imprisonment ( for during the Ambassadors stay they would not bring them to any Trial, lest they might seem to do any thing upon their solicitation ) the Prisoners were proceeded against as soon, or shortly after the Ambassadors had left *Madrid*, and were all condemned to die ; and as soon as the Sentence was declared, all the Prisoners were again delivered into the same Church ; where they remained many days, having Provisions of Victuals sent to them by many Persons of Quality, until they had all opportunity to make their Escape, which was very successfully done by all but one ; who, being the only Protestant amongst them , was more maliciously looked after and watched , and was followed, and apprehended after he had made three days Journey from *Madrid*, and carried back thither, and put to death : which was all the satisfaction the Parliament could obtain in that Affair ; and is an instance , how far that People was from any Affection to those of *England* in their Hearts, how much soever they complied with them out of the necessity of their Fortune.

When some weeks were passed after that unlucky accident , the Ambassadors went to confer with *Don Lewis* upon some other occurrence , with no purpose of mentioning any thing of the Prisoners. *Don Lewis* spoke of it in a manner they did not expect, one expression was “ *Yo tengo invidia de estos Caballeros, &c.* ” “ I envy those Gentlemen for having done so noble an Action, how penal soever it may prove to them, “ to revenge the Blood of their King.” Whereas, he



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said, " the King his Master wanted such resolute Subjects; otherwise he would never have lost a Kingdom, as he had done *Portugal*, for want of one brave Man; who, by taking away the Life of the Usurper, might at any time, during the first two years, have put an end to that Rebellion."

To return now to the Affairs of *Scotland*: whether when the Marquis of *Argyle* first knew that the King would venture himself into *Scotland*, he suspected his own strength, and so sent for his Friend *Cromwell* to assist him; or whether it seemed more reasonable to the Parliament, when it was assured of the King's being there, to Visit him in that Kingdom, than to expect a Visit from him, is not enough clear at this time.

*Cromwell* sent for by the Parliament out of *Ireland* leaves *Ireland* his Deputy.

But as soon as the King was in *Scotland*, *Cromwell*, being sent for by the Parliament, left what remained to be done in *Ireland* to *Ireton* ( who had Married his Daughter ) and made him his Deputy; and Transferred himself into *England*; where the Parliament, not without great opposition from all the Presbyterian Party, resolved to send an Army into *Scotland*. Many opposed it, as they thought it an unjust and unprofitable War, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and others, because it would keep up, and increase the Power and Authority of the Army in *England*; which was already found to be very grievous.

The Parliament resolved to send an Army into *Scotland*.

*Fairfax* gives up his Commission.

This Resolution produced another great Alteration: *Fairfax*, who had hitherto worn the name of General, declared positively that he would not Command the Army against *Scotland*. The Presbyterians said, " it was because he thought the War unlawful. " in regard it was against those of the same Religion; "

but his Friends would have it believed, that he would not Fight against the King. Hereupon *Cromwell* was chosen General; which made no alteration in the Army; which he had modelled to his own mind before, and Commanded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced, and suppressed the Presbyterians in all places; who had been supported by *Fairfax*. The Independents had all Credit about him; and the Churches and Pulpits were open to all kind of People who would show their Gifts there; and a general distraction and confusion in Religion covered the whole Kingdom; which raised as general a discontent in the minds of the People, who finding no ease from the Burdens they had so long sustained, but an increase of the Taxes and Impositions every day, grew weary of their new Government; and heartily prayed, that their General might never return from *Scotland*, but that, he being destroyed there, the King might return Victorious into *London*. The bitterness and prosecution against their Brethren in *England*, and the old Animosity they had long borne against the Person of *Cromwell*, made those in Authority in that Kingdom resolve to defend themselves against his Invasion, and to draw together a very numerous Body of Men well provided, and supplied with all things necessary but Courage and Conduct. They were so careful in the modelling this Army, that they suffered few or no Officers, or Soldiers, who had been in the Engagement of Duke *Hamilton*, or who gave the least occasion to be suspected to wish well to the King or to the

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Cromwell  
made General.The Scots  
raise an Army  
against him.

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*Hamiltonian* Party, to be lifted or received into their Service. So that they had only some old discredited Officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of Command, had stuck close to *Argyle* and to the Party of the Kirk. The truth is, the whole Army was under the Government of a Committee of the Kirk and the Scate; in which the Ministers exercised the sole Authority, and prayed and peached against the Vices of the Court, and the Impiety and Tyranny of *Cromwell* equally; and promised their Army Victory over the Enemy as positively, and in as confident terms, as if God himself had directed them to declare it. The King desired that he might Command this Army, at least run the Fortune of it. But they were hardly prevailed with to give him leave once to see it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the observation that the Common-Soldiers seemed to be much pleased to see him, they caused him to return, and the next day carried him to a place at a greater distance from the Army; declaring, “ that  
 “ they found the Soldiers too much inclined to put  
 “ their Confidence in the Arm of Flesh; whereas  
 “ their hope and dependance was to be only in God  
 “ and they were most assured of Victory by the  
 “ Prayers, and Piety of the Kirk.

*Cromwell*  
 enters Scot-  
 land.

In *July* *Cromwell* entered *Scotland*, and marched without any opposition till he came within less than a day's Journey of *Edinburgh*; where he found the *Scottish* Army encamped upon a very advantageous ground; and he made his Quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with disadvantages enough. For the Country was so destroyed behind him, and

the Passes so guarded before, that he was compelled to send for all his Provision for Horse and Foot from *England* by Sea; insomuch as the Army was reduced to great straits; and the *Scots* really believed, that they had them all at their Mercy, except such as would embark on board their Ships. But as soon as *Cromwell* had recovered some Provisions, his Army begun to remove, and seemed to provide for their March. Whether that March was to retire out of so barren a Country for want of Provisions (which no doubt were very scarce; and the Season of the year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary Supplies by Sea, for it was now the Month of *September*) or whether that motion was only to draw the *Scots* from the advantageous post of which they were possessed, is not yet understood. But it was confessed on all sides, that, if the *Scots* had remained within their Trenches, and sent Parties of Horse to have followed the *English* Army closely, they must have so disordered them, that they would have left their Cannon, and all their heavy Carriages behind them, besides the danger the Foot must have been in. But the *Scots* did not intend to part with them so easily; they doubted not but to have the Spoil of the whole Army. And therefore they no sooner discerned that the *English* were upon their march, but they decamped, and followed with their whole Body all the Night following, and found themselves in the Morning within a small distance of the Enemy: for *Cromwell* was quickly advertised that the *Scottish* Army was dislodged, and marched after him; and thereupon he made a stand, and put his Men in good order.

The distress of  
*Cromwell's*  
Army.



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## XII.

The *Scots* found they were not upon so clear a chafe as they imagined, and placed themselves again upon such a side of a Hill, as they believed the *English* would not have the Courage to attack them there.

Cromwell  
entirely routs  
the Scots in  
the Battle of  
Dunbar.

But *Cromwell* knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, when there were no Trenches, or Fortifications to keep him from them; and therefore he made haste to charge them on all sides, upon what advantage ground soever they stood. Their Horse did not sustain one Charge; but fled, and were pursued with a great execution. The Foot depended much upon their Ministers, who peached, and prayed, and assured them of the Victory, till the *English* were upon them; and some of their Preachers were knocked in the head, whilst they were promising the Victory. Though there was so little resistance made, that *Cromwell* lost very few Men by that day's Service, yet the Execution was very terrible upon the Enemy; the whole Body of the Foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing; so that there were between five and six thousand dead upon the place; and very few, but they who escaped by the heels of their Horse, were without terrible wounds; of which very many died shortly after; especially such of their Ministers who were not killed upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any Body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will. All the Cannon, Ammunition, Carriages and Baggage, were entirely taken, and *Cromwell* with his victorious Army marched directly

to *Edinburgh*; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreshing his Army; which stood in need of it.

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Cromwell  
enters *Edin-*  
*burgh*.

Never Victory was attended with less lamentations: for as *Cromwell* had great argument of Triumph in the total Defeat and Destruction of the only Army that was in *Scotland*; which Defeat had put a great part of that Kingdom, and the chief City of it, under his Obedience; so the King, who was then at *St. Johnston's*, was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a Body of his Enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his Majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a Prison the next day; which had been only a stricter confinement than he suffered already: for the Lord *Lorne*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Argyle*, being Captain of his Guard, had so watchful a care of him both night and day, that his Majesty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this Defeat, they all looked upon the King as one they might stand in need of: they permitted his Servants, who had been sequestered from him from his Arrival in the Kingdom, to attend, and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a Parliament, and of a time for the King's Coronation; which had not hitherto been spoken of. Some Ministers begun to Preach obedience to the King; the Officers, who had been cashiered for their Malignity, talked aloud of "the miscarriages in the Government, and that the Kingdom was betrayed to the Enemy for want of confidence in the King, who alone could preserve the Nation." They of the Council seemed not to

The King  
gets advan-  
tage by this.

**B O O K** have so absolute a dependance upon the Marquis of  
**XIII.** *Argyle*, but spoke more freely than they had used to do; and the Marquis applied himself more to the King, and to those about him: so that the King did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this Victory, as well as *Cromwell*, though his Majesty's advantage was discerned by a few Men only, and those reduced into an obscure quarter of the Kingdom; but the other made the *éclat*. The destruction of the only Army, and the possessing of *Edinburgh*, was looked upon, in all places, as the entire conquest of the whole Kingdom.

Don *Alonzo* made haste to send the News into *Spain* of the total and irrecoverable defeat of the King; "that he was driven into the High-lands; from  
 " whence he would be compelled to fly, as soon as  
 " he could get means to escape: that the Republic  
 " was now settled, and no more fear or hope of the  
 " King:" the effect of all which, the Ambassadors quickly found at *Madrid*, by the carriage and countenance of that King and the Council; though it cannot be denied that the Common-People appeared to have a much more generous sense of the Alteration, than the others did. The Ambassadors received shortly a full advertisement of the truth; and "that  
 " the King thought his condition much improved  
 " by the defeat;" and they used all the means they could, by several Audiences, to inform the King of *Spain* and Don *Lewis* of the truth; and "that they  
 " were misinformed, as if the Army overthrown was  
 " the King's; whereas they were indeed as much his  
 " Enemies, as *Cromwell's* was." But in this they could

obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily wished they were gone; which they were resolved to take no notice of.

In the end, one morning, the Secretary of State came to them from the King; and told them, "that they had been now above a year in that Court, where they had been well treated, notwithstanding some miscarriages, which might very justly have incensed his Catholic Majesty" (mentioning the death of *Ascham*) "that they were extraordinary Ambassadors, and so needed not any Letters of Revocation; that they had received Answers to all they had proposed, and were at liberty to depart; which his Catholic Majesty desired they would do, since their presence in the Court would be very prejudicial to his Affairs." This unexpected and unusual Message, delivered ungracefully enough by an old Man, who, notwithstanding his Office, was looked upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe "that he had mistaken his Message, at least that he had delivered it with less Courtly circumstances than he ought to have done." And therefore they returned no other Answer, than "that they would attend *Don Lewis de Haro*, and understand from Him the King's pleasure." The next day, they sent for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; whom they found with a less open Countenance than he used to have; nor did he appear any thing more Courtly than the Secretary had done; but told them, that there were Orders sent to such a Person (whom he named) to prepare their present; which should be ready within very few days; and

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The Secretary of State brings a message from the King of Spain to the Ambassadors to desire them to be gone.

They apply to Don Lewis.



**B O O K** pressed them very plainly, and without any regard  
**XIII.** to the season of the year, it being then towards the end of *January*, to use all possible expedition for their departure, as a thing that, even in that respect, did exceedingly concern the service of the King. This made the Ambassadors imagine, which was likewise reported, that there was a formal Ambassador upon his way from *England*, and that the Court would be no more liable to the like Accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cause of all this haste was, that they might bring into the Town as many Pictures, and other choice and rich Furniture, as did load eighteen Mules; which, as was said before, *Don Alonzo* had bought of the King's goods, and then sent to the *Groyne*, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the Palace, whilst the Ambassadors should continue and remain in the Town.

The reason of  
 their being  
 prest to depart  
 Madrid in  
 such haste.

This injunction to leave *Madrid*, in so unseasonable a time of the year, was very severe to the Ambassadors. The Lord *Cottingham* was at this time seventy-six years of Age, once or twice in a year troubled with the Gout, in other respects of great vigor of Body and Mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had resolved, when he first proposed this Embassy to the King, and, it may be, it was the chief reason of proposing it, that, if there should be no door open to let him return into *England*, by the time that his Embassy should expire, he would remain and die in *Spain*. But he did then believe, that he should have found another kind of Entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt, deserved very well from that Nation,

having always performed those Offices towards them which made him looked upon at home as too well affected to that People, which, together with his constant opposition of the *French*, had rendered him very ungracious to the Queen: yet there were some seasons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they desired, and expected; as when their Fleet, under the command of *Oquendo*, about the year 1639, had been assaulted in the *Downs*, and defeated by the *Dutch* Fleet, for want of that Protection which they thought the King might have given to them. And it is probable their Ambassadors, who were then in *England*, whereof *Don Alonzo* was one, did not find that readiness and alacrity in him to appear in their service, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being solicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do Himself harm, and could do Them no good. But these Omissions were now remembered, and all his services forgotten: so that (as hath been touched before) his reception, from the first hour of his coming last thither, was very cold both from the King and the Court. And though he was now willing to resume his former resolution of staying there; yet the treatment he had received, and this last farewell, made him doubt, very reasonably, whether he should be permitted to stay there or not.

There was another circumstance, which was necessary to his residing in *Spain*, in which he met with some difficulties that he had not foreseen; and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough discerned, and knew to be the true cause of

**B O O K** all the discountenance he had met with in that Court  
**XIII.** (though he was willing the other Ambassador, who knew nothing of it, should believe that it proceeded from what had passed in *England*) which was then remembered in the discourse of the Court, and was the true cause of the general prejudice to him there. He had been formerly reconciled in that Kingdom to the Church of *Rome*, and had constantly gone to the Mass there; and declaring himself afterwards in *England* to be of the Religion of the Church of *England*, he was Apostatized from the other; which, in that Country, is looked upon as such a Brand, as the infamy of it can never be wiped out; and this indeed was the reason of that King's so notable aversion from him. The truth is, he had never made any inquiry into Religion to inform himself, but had conformed to that which the Province he held obliged him to; and though he could never get the reputation in *England* of being well affected to that Church, and was always looked upon as most inclined to the *Roman*, yet he convinced those who would have taken advantage of that guilt, by being present at Prayers, and Sermons, and sometimes receiving the Sacrament, as he did the very last *Sunday* he stayed in the *Hague* before he begun his Journey towards *Spain*; and even after his arrival there, was constant at the reading the Common-prayers both Morning, and Evening, by their own Chaplain, in their House, as long as the Chaplain lived: and many, who knew him very well, did believe that if he had died in *England*, he would have died in the Communion of that Church. But there is no doubt, he did resolve,

from the time that he meant to remain and die in *Spain*, that he would become a *Roman Catholic* again, which he thought to be a much easier thing than it was; and that he might have been reconciled by any Priest in as private a manner as he could desire. But when he consulted that affair with a Jesuit, who frequently came to the House, he found, that after an Apostacy, as they termed it, it was not in the power of any Priest to reconcile him, but that it was reserved to the Pope himself; who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own Nuntios. This obliged him to resort thither; which he could not easily do without communicating it to the other Ambassador; towards whom this was the only secret he reserved. And he found a way, as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, several days, that the Nuntio had sent him such and such Messages by that Jesuit concerning those Gentlemen who were in Prison, the substance whereof did not differ from what the *Venetian* Ambassador had formerly delivered from him: at last, he told him, "that he found  
" the Nuntio had somewhat to say in that Affair  
" which he would not communicate by Message,  
" but wished to speak with him in private; for publicly he must not be known to have any conference with him; and that hereupon he resolved to  
" go *incognito* in Sir *Benjamin Wright's* Coach to  
" him:" which he did, and was then reconciled; and returned home making such a relation of their conference to his Companion as he thought fit; and delivered the Nuntio's salutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the Affair was: for,



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besides that the Nuntio could not perform the Office alone, but was to have the assistance of two or three so qualified, there was really care taken that the other Ambassador might know it. And, before that time, when they both visited the President *de la Hazienda*, who carried them into his Library, whilst the other Ambassador was casting his Eyes upon some Books (it being the best private Library in *Madrid*) the Lord Cottington told the President, "that he was himself a Catholic, but that his Companion was an obstinate Heretic;" of which the President sent him information the next day. But since himself forbore ever to Communicate this secret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give some disturbance to his resolution, he likewise took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their parting.

The Lord  
Cottington  
resolves to  
stay as a pri-  
vate Man  
in Spain.

This difficulty being over, there remained yet another; which was, his having permission to stay in that Country; for which he addressed himself to *Don Lewis*; "mentioned his Age; his infirmity of the Gout; which would infallibly seize upon him, if, in that season of the year, he should provoke it by an extraordinary Motion; in a word, that it was impossible for him to make the Journey." *Don Lewis* told him, "he could answer him to part of what he said without speaking to the King; that he must not think of staying with the Character of an Ambassador, nor of residing in *Madrid*, in how private a condition soever; if he desired any thing with these two restraints, he would move the King in it." The other told him, "that he submitted to  
" both

“ both these conditions; and only desired Licence  
 “ to reside in *Valladolid*, where he had lived many  
 “ years, when the Court remained there, in the time  
 “ of King *Philip* the third.”

This place was not disliked; and within few days,  
*Don Lewis* sent him word “ that the King approved  
 “ it; and that he should have a Letter to the chief  
 “ Magistrate there, to treat him with all respect; and  
 “ that his Majesty would take care that he should  
 “ not undergo any distress, but would supply him  
 “ as his necessities required.” And, shortly after, a

Message was sent to the Ambassadors to let them  
 know, that the King had appointed such a day for  
 to give them an Audience to take their leave. This

The Ambassadors have  
Audience of  
leave.

new importunity was as extraordinary as the former;  
 however, they performed their Ceremonies; and  
 about the beginning of *March*, after they had been  
 in that Court near fifteen Months, they both left  
*Madrid* in the same hour: the Lord *Cottington* taking  
 his Course for *Valladolid*; where he had the same  
 House provided, and made ready for him by the care  
 of the *English* Jesuits there, in which he had dwelt at  
 the time of his Agency, when the Court resided  
 there; where he died within one year after, in the  
 77<sup>th</sup> year of his Age.

The Lord  
Cottington  
lives at  
*Valladolid*  
till he dies.

He was a very wise man, by the great and long  
 experience he had in business of all kinds; and by  
 his natural temper, which was not liable to any trans-  
 port of Anger, or any other passion, but could bear  
 contradiction, and even reproach, without being  
 moved, or put out of his way: for he was very steady  
 in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a

His Character

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courage not to be frighted with any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the Grammar of any Language, or the principles of any Science, but by his perfectly understanding the *Spanish* (which he spoke as a *Spaniard*) the *French*, and *Italian* Languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of Learning, Divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the Nature of Beasts and Birds, and above all in all kind of Plantations and Arts of Husbandry. He was born a Gentleman both by Father and Mother, his Father having a pretty entire Seat near *Bruton* in *Somersetshire*, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from Father to Son for many hundred years, and is still in the possession of his Elder Brother's Children, the Family having been always Roman-Catholic. His Mother was a *Stafford*, nearly allied to Sir *Edward Stafford*; who was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth*, and had been Ambassador in *France*; by whom this Gentleman was brought up, and was Gentleman of his Horse, and left one of his Executors of his Will, and by him recommended to Sir *Robert Cecil*, then Principal Secretary of State; who preferred him to Sir *Charles Conwallis*, when he went Ambassador into *Spain*, in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*; where he remained, for the space of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of Secretary or Agent, without ever returning into *England* in all that time. He raised by his own Virtue and Industry a very fair Estate, of which, though the Revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year; yet

he had four very good Houses, and three Parks, the value whereof was not reckoned into that computation. He lived very Nobly, well served, and attended in his House; had a better Stable of Horses, better provision for Sports (especially of Hawks, in which he took great delight) than most of his Quality, and lived always with great splendor; for though he loved Money very well, and did not warily enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humor, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, covered the most of mirth, and caused more, than any Man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any Body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make Men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender Affections, nor Bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserved compassion. He was heartily weary of the world, and no Man was more willing to die; which is an Argument that he had peace of Conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his Parts, than love to his Person.

The other Ambassador was dismissed with much more Courtesy for when they heard that his Family remained at *Antwerp* in *Flanders*, and that he intended to go thither, and stay there till he received other Orders from the King his Master, they gave him all despatches thither which might be of use to him in those Parts. The King of *Spain* himself used many gracious Expressions to him at his last Audience, and

The other  
Ambassador  
dismissed very  
courteously.



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sent afterwards to him a Letter for the Arch-Duke *Leopold*; in which he expressed the good opinion he had of the Ambassador; and commanded "that, whilst he should chuse to reside in those Parts, under his Government, he should receive all Respect, and enjoy all Privileges as an Ambassador:" and *Don Lewis de Haro* writ likewise to the Arch-Duke, and the Count of *Fuensaldagna*, "to look upon him as His particular Friend:" all which Ceremonies, though they cost them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the Ambassador: for besides the Treatment he received from the Arch-Duke himself in *Brussels*, as Ambassador, such directions, or recommendations, were sent to the Magistrates at *Antwerp*, that he enjoyed the privilege of his Chapel, and all the *English*, who were numerous then in that City, repaired thither with all freedom for their Devotion, and the exercise of their Religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any Man there, and which the *English*, and *Irish* Priests, and the Roman-Catholics of those Nations, exceedingly murmured at, and used all the Endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

In his passage  
through  
France he  
waits on the  
Queen Mo-  
ther.

In his passage through *France* he waited upon the Queen-Mother, who received him very graciously; and he found there, that the success which *Cromwell* had obtained in *Scotland* (though the King was still there, and in a better condition than before) had the same effect in the Court of *Spain*; it gave over all thoughts of the King, as in a condition not only deplorable, but as absolutely desperate.

There had, a little before, fallen out an accident

that troubled *France* very much, and no less pleased *Spain*; which was the death of the Prince of *Orange*; a young Prince of great hope and expectation, and of a Spirit that desired to be in Action. He had found, that the Peace between *Spain* and the Low-Countries, which his Father had been so solicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preserve him in equal lustre to what the three former Princes had enjoyed; and therefore he wished nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offered to enter upon the War. He complained loudly, that the Court of *Spain* had not observed, nor performed, many of those Conditions which it was obliged to do for the particular benefit of him, and his family: whereby he continued involved in many debts, which were uneasy to him; and so, upon all occasions which fell out, he adhered to that Party in the States which were known most to favor the Interest of *France*; which inclination the Cardinal, and the other Ministers of that Crown, used all possible care and endeavour to cultivate: and *Spain* was so much affected with the apprehension of the consequence of that Alteration, and with the Conscience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they resolved to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if possible, to them. To this purpose, a very great present was prepared at *Madrid* to be sent to him, ten brave *Spanish* Horses, the worst of which cost there three hundred pounds Sterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewise a present of Plate, Jewels, and perfumed Leather, to the Princess Royal his Wife; and a full

B O O K  
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The Death  
of the Prince  
of Orange.

**B O O K** assurance, "that they would forthwith begin to per-  
**XIII.** "form all the Articles which were to be done by  
 "them, and finish all within a short time."

The Express, who was appointed to accompany the present, and to perform the other functions, was to begin his Journey within two days, when the News arrived, by an Express from *Brussels*, who came in as short a time as could be imagined, that the Prince of *Orange* was dead of the small Pox, and had left the Princess with Child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a Son within few days after his decease. The Court at *Madrid* could not conceal its joy, nor dissemble their opinion, that the Enemy whose influence they most apprehended, was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, *France* owned a great sorrow and grief for the loss of a Man whom they believed to be more than ordinarily affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their Friends in *Holland*, might, in a short time, be much superior to that Party in the States which adhered to the *Spanish* Interest.

But no Body received so insupportable prejudice, and damage, by this fatal blow, as the King of Great *Britain* did; towards whom that brave Prince gave all the testimony and manifestation of the most entire, fast, and unshaken Affection and Friendship, that hath ever been performed towards any Person under any signal Misfortune. Besides the assisting him upon several emergent occasions, with greater Sums of Money than were easy to his incumbered Fortune, his Reputation, and his declared Resolution, "that he  
 "would venture all he had in that Quarrel," disposed

His Princess  
 delivered of  
 a Son shortly  
 after.

The King  
 lost a sure  
 Friend in the  
 Prince.

many to be more concerned for his Majesty. Though he could not prevail over that Faction in *Holland*, which were known to favor *Cromwell* (and the more out of their aversion to him, and to his Power and Greatness) to induce them to serve the King, yet he kept the States-General from consenting to that infamous Alliance and Conjunction, which, shortly after his death, they entered into with the new Republic; and which they would never have yielded to, if He had lived. And, no doubt, the respect both *France* and *Spain* had for Him, and his Interposition, had prevailed with both to be more restrained than they afterwards appeared to be, in a total declining all consideration of the King, and rejecting all thoughts of his Restoration. It contributed very much to the negligent Farewel the Ambassadors had received in *Spain*: for the news of the Prince's death had arrived there some time before their departure; and it did not only extinguish all imaginations in *France* of any possible hope for our King, but very much lessened the Respect, and Civility, which that Court had always showed to the Queen herself, as a Daughter of *France*; towards whom they expressed not that regard they had formerly done.

But there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the Queen more trouble than this; and of which her Majesty made great complaint to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at his return from *Spain*. Upon the Interview which had been between the King and the Queen at *Beauvais*, when the King went for *Holland*, upon the foresight, if not the resolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own Person into



## BOOK

## XIII.

Touching the  
Duke of York  
left with the  
Queen.

*Scotland* he had left his Brother the Duke of *York* with the Queen, with direction "that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the Queen his Mother, matters of Religion only excepted." And there was the less doubt of his conformity to her Commands, because, besides his Piety and Duty, which was very entire towards her, he was to depend wholly upon her Bounty for his Support; the Court of *France* not taking any notice of this increase of her expence, nor paying her own narrow assignation with any punctuality; so that she was not able, besides the reservedness in her Nature, so to supply him as to make his Condition pleasant to him; but exercised the same Austere Carriage towards him, which she had done to the Prince his Brother, and as unsuccessfully. The Duke was very young, with a numerous Family of his own, not well enough inclined to be contented, and consisting of Persons who loved not one another, nor their Master well enough to consider him before themselves: which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that Credit with him, that, at such an Age, some good Men ought to have had: which proceeded from want of reasonable providence and circumspection. For when he made his Escape out of *England* (as is mentioned before) he had only one Person attending him (who had, before, no relation or pretence to his Service) whose merit might have been otherwise requited, than by giving him a title and dependance upon him; and he quickly appeared to be so unworthy of it, that he was removed from it. Then was the time that such Persons should have

been placed about him, as might have both discovered such infirmities, as his Nature might incline him to, and have infused those Principles of Virtue, and Honor, as he was most capable of, and disposed to; and which had been as proper for his present Misfortune, as for his highest Dignity. But that Province was wholly committed to the Queen his Mother by the late King, who was then in Prison; and her Majesty being then at *Paris*, when the Duke landed in *Holland*, she could not deliberate so long upon it as such a subject required; and so was persuaded by others to consider Them more than her Son; and made haste to put such a family about him, with reference to the number, and to the Offices which they were designed to serve in, as was above the greatness to which the younger Son of the Crown of *England* could pretend, by the Usage and Custom of that Kingdom, when it was in the greatest Splendor; and all this, when there was not in view the least Revenue to Support it, but that the whole Charge and Burden of it must inevitably fall upon Her; of which her Majesty was quickly sensible, and paid the penalty at least in the peace and quiet of her mind.

The Duke was full of Spirit and Courage, and naturally loved designs, and desired to engage himself in some Action that might improve and advance the low Condition of the King his Brother; towards whom he had an inviolable Affection and Fidelity, superior to any Temptation. He was not pleased with the Treatment he received in *France*, nor had confidence enough in any of his Servants, to be ad-

**B O O K** vised by them towards the contriving any expedient  
**XIII.** that he might reasonably dispose himself to, or to be  
 dissuaded from any Enterprize which his own passion  
 might suggest to him; though too many had too  
 much Credit with him in contributing to his discon-  
 tents, and in representing the uncomfortableness of  
 his own Condition to him; "the little regard the  
 " Queen appeared to have of him, the lustre that  
 " some of her Servants lived in, and those who de-  
 " pended upon them, whilst his Royal Highness  
 " wanted all that was necessary, and his Servants were  
 " exposed to the most scandalous necessities and con-  
 " tempt;" which suggestions, by degrees, began to  
 abate that reverence in him to the Queen his Mother,  
 to which he was very dutifully inclined.

Sir Edward  
 Herbert and  
 Sir G. Ratcliff  
 have great  
 interest in him.

There were at that time two Persons, who, though  
 without any relation to the Court, very much fre-  
 quented the Duke's lodgings, and had frequent  
 discourses with him, Sir *Edward Herbert*, the late  
 King's Attorney-General ( of whom much is said be-  
 fore ) and Sir *George Ratcliff*, who had been designed  
 by that King to attend upon the Duke of *York* into  
*Ireland*, when he once thought of sending him thither.  
 But that design being quickly laid aside, there was no  
 more thought of using his Service there. The Duke  
 looked upon them both as wise Men, and fit to give  
 him advice; and finding that they both applied them-  
 selves to him with diligence, and address, he com-  
 municated his thoughts more freely to Them than to  
 any others. And they took pains to persuade him to  
 dislike the Condition he was in, and that he might  
 spend his time more to his advantage in some other

place than in *France*. They spoke often to him of the Duke of *Lorraine*, “as a pattern and example for all  
 “unfortunate Princes to follow: that he being, by  
 “the power and injustice of the King of *France*,  
 “driven out of his Principality and Dominions, had,  
 “by his own Virtue and Activity, put himself in the  
 “head of an Army; by which he made himself so  
 “considerable, that he was Courted by both the  
 “Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and might make his  
 “Conditions with either according to his own elec-  
 “tion; and in the mean time lived with great Repu-  
 “tation, and in great Plenty, esteemed by all the  
 “World for his Courage and Conduct.” With these,  
 and the like discourses, the Duke was much pleased,  
 and amused, and wished in himself that he could be  
 put into such a Condition, when in truth there could  
 not a more improper Example have been proposed  
 to him, whose Condition was more unlike his, or  
 whose Fortune and Manners he was less to wish to  
 follow, or less able to imitate. For the Duke of *Lor-*  
*raine* had for many years before his Misfortunes, had  
 a great name in War, and was looked upon as one of  
 the greatest Captains of *Christendom*; and had drawn  
 the Arms, and Power of *France* upon him, by his  
 inconstancy, and adhering to *Spain*, contrary to his  
 Treaty and obligation with the other Crown; and  
 when he was driven out of his own Country, and not  
 able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good  
 Army, and possessed of great Wealth, which he carried  
 with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he  
 well knew, into *Flanders*, both as his Misfortune  
 proceeded from his Affection to their King, and as his

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XIII.

They recom-  
 mend to him  
 the pattern  
 of the Duke  
 of Lorraine.

The Duke of  
 Lorraine's  
 Character.



**B O O K** Forces were necessary for their defence. And so he  
**XIII.** made such Conditions with them, as were most beneficial to himself; and y<sup>t</sup>. in the consequence, so unsuccessful, as might well terrify all other Princes from treading in the same footsteps.

The King  
 believed in  
 France to be  
 dead.

With the report of the defeat of that Army by *Cromwell* in *Scotland* (which was the first good fortune to the King) or shortly after, some Letters from *England* brought Intelligence, without any ground, that the King was dangerously Sick; and shortly after, that he was Dead; which was believed in *England*, and from thence transmitted into *France*. This gave a new Alarm to those two Gentlemen mentioned before, who received this information from such Friends in *England*, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new King to be found in: and therefore that it would be necessary for him to remove from thence, before the report should be confirmed, and believed.

The Duke of  
 York acquaints  
 his Mother that  
 he will go to  
 Brussels;  
 whither he  
 goes.

Whether they imparted this nice consideration to the Duke or not, his Highness, without any Preface of the Motives, told the Queen, "he was resolved to make a Journey to *Brussels*;" who, being exceedingly surpris'd, asked him the reason; and "how he could be able to make such a Journey:" which she in truth believed impossible for him, since she knew he had no Money. His Answer in short was, "that he would visit the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had been always a Friend to his Father, and continued his Affection to the King his Brother; and he had some reason to believe, that Duke would enable him to

“ appear in action, that might be for his Majesty’s  
“ service; and that he was resolved to begin his Jour-  
“ ney the next day;” from which, neither the Queen’s  
advice, nor Authority, could divert him. Her Ma-  
jesty quickly discerned, that neither the Lord *Byron*,  
nor Sir *John Berkeley*, nor Mr. *Bennet*, his Secretary  
knew any thing of it; and therefore easily concluded  
who the Counsellors were; who were both very  
ungracious to her, and she had long done all she could  
to lessen the Duke’s esteem of them. They well fore-  
saw that the want of Money would be of that force,  
that, without any other difficulty, the Journey would  
be rendered impossible. They had therefore, upon  
their own credit, or out of their own store, procured  
as much as would defray the Journey to *Brussels*;  
which, by the Duke’s directions, was put into the  
hands of Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and to be managed by  
his providence and discretion. And then he publicly  
declared his resolution to begin his Journey the next  
day for *Brussels*, leaving his Servants to make what  
shift they could to stay there or follow him.

Since there was no remedy, the Queen thought it  
necessary that his chief Servants should wait on him,  
that she might receive an Account what progress he  
made, and what his design could be: so the Lord  
*Byron*, and Mr. *Bennet*, made themselves ready for  
the Journey; Sir *John Berkeley* chusing to stay behind,  
that he might not appear inferior where he had exer-  
cised the supreme Charge. And so, with the other  
two Counsellors, and many of the inferior Servants,  
the Duke, according to his resolution, left the Queen;  
and, when he came to *Brussels*, he lodged at the

**BOOK** House of Sir *Henry de Vic* the King's Resident, without being taken notice of by any of that Court. There the two Counsellors begun to form his Family, and to confer Offices upon those who were most acceptable to them; presuming that they should shortly receive News from *England*, which would confirm all that they had done under other Titles. In the mean time the Government of the House, and ordering the expence, was committed wholly to Sir *George Raicliff*, whilst the other contented himself with presiding in the Councils, and directing all the politic designs. The Duke of *Lorraine* had visited the Duke upon his first Arrival, and being informed of the straits his Royal Highness was in, presented him with one thousand Pistoles. But now the secret ground of all their Counsels, was found to be without any reality: the King was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an Army that looked *Cromwell* in the Face; which destroyed all the Machine they had raised: yet, being too far Embarked to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the Duke of *Lorraine* had showed towards the Duke, they had the presumption to propose that there might be a Marriage between the Duke of *York* and the Daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine* by the Countess of *Canteeroy*; whom he had publicly Married, but which Marriage was declared at *Rome* to be void, by reason that his former Wife was still alive.

His two Counsellors propose a Match for him with the Duke of *Lorraine's* Bastard-Daughter.

When the Duke of *Lorraine* saw how the Affairs of this young Prince were conducted, and that the Lord *Byron*, and Mr. *Benner*, who were Men well

bred, and able to have discoursed any business to him, one whereof was his Governor and the other his Secretary, who by their Offices ought to be more trusted in an Affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two Persons, who were Men of a very unusual mien, appeared in it, and that only Sir *George Ratcliff* undertook to speak to him about it, who could only make himself understood in *Latin*, which the Duke cared not to speak in, he declined entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the King's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but "that he did not doubt it would be afterwards approved by his Majesty." Thus they were at the end of their projects; and there being no means to stay longer at *Brussels*, they persuaded the Duke to visit his Sister at the *Hague*, and there to consider, and advise what was next to be done.

The Duke  
visits his Sister  
at the Hague.

Of all these particulars the Queen complained to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with great bitterness against the folly and presumption of those two Gentlemen, whose fidelity to the King she did not suspect; nor could she imagine the motive that had engaged them in such a bold undertaking; but she required him, "that, as soon as he should come into *Flanders*, he would make a Journey to the *Hague*, and prevail with the Duke (to whom she writ to the same purpose) "to return again to *Paris*;" which the Chancellor promised to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general discourse, which that Sally administered, as if there were a Schism in the Royal Family in a season when so much union was requisite.



## BOOK

## XIII.

There was another instance of the King's extreme low condition, and of the highest disrespect the Court of *France* could express towards him, and of which all the Protestant Party of the Queen's Family complained very vehemently. From the time of the Queen's being in *France*, the late King had appointed a Chaplain of his own, Dr. *Cosins*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Durham*, to attend upon her Majesty for the constant service of that part of her Household, the number of her Protestant Servants being much superior to those who were Roman-Catholics. And the Queen had always punctually complied with the King's directions, and used the Chaplain very graciously, and assigned him a competent support with the rest of her Servants. An under-Room in the *Louvre*, out of any common passage, had been assigned for their Morning and Evening-Devotions; the Key whereof was committed to the Chaplain; who caused the Room to be decently furnished, and kept; being made use of to no other purpose. Here, when the Prince first came thither, and afterwards, whilst he stayed, he performed his Devotions all the Week, but went *Sundays* still to the Resident's House to hear Sermons. At this time an Order was sent from the Queen-Regent, "that that Room should be no more applied to that purpose, and that the *French* King would not permit the Exercise of any other Religion in any of his Houses than the Roman-Catholic:" and the Queen gave notice to the Chaplain, "that she was no longer able to continue the payment of the Exhibition she had formerly assigned to him." The Protestants, whereof many were

Dr. *Cosins* forbidden to officiate to the Protestants in the Queen's Family at Paris.

were of the best Quality, lamented this Alteration to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and desired him to intercede with the Queen, which he had the more title to do, because, at his going into *Spain*, she had vouchsafed to promise him (upon some Rumors, of which he took notice) “that the same Privilege which had been, should still be continued, and enjoyed by the Protestants of her Household; and that she would provide for the Chaplain’s Subsistence.” He presumed therefore to speak with her Majesty upon it; and besought her to consider, “what ill impresson this new Order would make upon the Protestants of all the King’s Dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to depend for his Restoration; and how much prejudice it might be to herself, to be looked upon as a greater Enemy to Protestants, than she had been taken notice of to be; and likewise, whether this Order, which had been given since the departure of the Duke of *York*, might not be made use of as an excuse for his not returning, or indeed for his going away at first, since the precise time when it issued, would not be generally understood.” The Queen heard him very graciously, and acknowledged “that what he said had reason in it; but protested that she knew not what remedy to apply to it; that she had been herself surpris’d with that Order, and was troubled at it; but that the Queen-Regent was positive in it, and blamed her for want of Zeal in her Religion; and that she cared not to advance it, or to convert any of her Children.” She wished him “to confer with Mr. *Mountague* upon it;” and implied, “that

The Chancellor speaks with the Queen about it.

The Queen’s Answer.

B O O K “ His bigotry in his new Religion, had contributed  
 XIII. “ much to the procuring that Order.” He had newly  
 taken Orders, and was become Priest in that Church,  
 and had great power with the Queen-Regent, as well  
 for his Animosity against that Religion he Had pro-  
 fessed, as for his vehement Zeal for the Church  
 of which he now was. Upon this occasion, her  
 Majesty expressed a great sense of the loss she had sus-  
 tained by the death of her old Confessor, Father *Phil-*  
*lips*; who, she said, “ was a prudent and discreet  
 “ Man; and would never suffer her to be pressed to  
 “ any passionate undertakings, under pretence of  
 “ doing good for Catholics; and always told her,  
 “ that, as she ought to continue firm and constant to  
 “ her own Religion, so she was to live well towards  
 “ the Protestants, who deserved well from her, and  
 “ to whom she was beholding. She said, it would not  
 “ be possible to have the same or any other Room  
 “ set aside, or allowed to be used as a Chapel; but  
 “ that she would take such course, that the Family  
 “ might meet for the Exercise of their Devotion in  
 “ some private Room that belonged to their Lodg-  
 “ ings: and that though her own Exhibition was so  
 “ ill paid, that she was indebted to all her Servants,  
 “ yet she would give Order that Doctor *Cosins*,  
 “ (against whom she had some personal exceptions)  
 “ should receive his Salary, in proportion with the  
 “ rest of her Servants.” She bid him “ assure the Duke  
 “ of *York*, that he should have a free Exercise of his  
 “ Religion, as he had before, though it must not be  
 “ in the same place.”

The Chancellor. The Chancellor conferred with Mr. *Mountague*

upon the Subject; and offered the same reasons which he had done to the Queen; which he looked upon as of no moment; but said, "that the King of *France* was Master in his own House, and he was resolved, though the King of *England* himself should come thither again, never to permit any solemn exercise of the Protestant Religion in any House of his." The consideration of what the Protestants in *England* might think on this occasion, was of least moment to him; and it was indeed the Common discourse there, "that the Protestants of the Church of *England* could never do the King Service, but that all his hopes must be in the Roman-Catholics, and the Presbyterians; and that he ought to give all satisfaction to both those Parties."

When the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to *Antwerp*, with a purpose to make a Journey speedily to the *Hague*, he was informed, "that the States were much offended that the Duke of *York* remained there; and therefore that the Princess Royal" (who now more depended upon their favor than ever; her own Jointure, as well as the fortune of her Son, being to be settled in their Judicatory) "could no longer entertain him, but that he would be the next day at *Breda*." Thither the Chancellor immediately went; and found the Duke there with a Family in all the confusion imaginable, in present want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be done next. They all censured and reproached the Counsel by which they had been guided, and the Counsellors as bitterly inveighed against each other, for undertaking many things which had no foundation in truth. They

B O O K

XVIII.

lor confers  
with Mr.  
Mountague  
about it.

The Chancel.

lor finds the  
Duke of York  
at Breda; and  
the factious of  
the Duke's  
family there.



**B O O K** who concurred in nothing else, were equally severe  
**XIII.** against the Attorney, as a Man of that intolerable pride that it was not possible for any Man to converse with him. He as frankly reproached them all with being Men of no parts, of no understanding, nor learning, no principles, and no resolution, and was so just to them all, as to condemn every Man of them alike. In truth he had rendered himself so grievous to them all, that there was no Man who desired to be in his Company; yet, by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason without being it, he retained still too much credit with the Duke; who, being amused and confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easily understood; and was himself so young, that he was rather delighted with the Journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not entered upon them with reason enough; and was fortified with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the Queen's Letter, which the Chancellor delivered to him; heard his advice very willingly, and resolved to begin his Journey to *Paris* without any delay; and looked upon the occasion, as a very seasonable redemption. The next day he went to *Antwerp*; and from thence, with the same retinue he had carried with him, made haste to *Paris*, and was received by the Queen his Mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those, who, she thought, had had the credit and power to seduce him; and they were

The Duke  
 returns to  
 Paris to the  
 Queen.

not solicitous, by any Apologies or Confession, to recover her favor: for the true reason that had swayed them being not to be avowed, any other that they could devise and suggest, would have rendered them more inexcusable.

During this time, the King underwent all kind of Mortifications in *Scotland*. But after the defeat of the *Scottish Army* in *September*, with which the King and *Cromwell* were equally delighted, as hath been said before, the Marquis of *Argyle's* Empire seemed not to be so absolute. A new Army was appointed to be raised; the King himself interposed more than he had done; and the Noblemen and Officers came to him with more Confidence; and his Majesty took upon him to complain and expostulate, when those things were done which he did not like: Yet the Power was still in *Argyle's* hands; who, under all the professions of Humility, exercised still the same Tyranny; inso-much as the King grew weary of his own Patience, and resolved to make some attempt to free himself. Dr. *Frazier*, who had been the King's Physician many years before, and had constantly attended upon his Person, and very much contributed to the King's Journey into *Scotland*, was, shortly after his coming thither, disliked by *Argyle*; who knew that he was a Creature of the *Hamiltonians*, and found him to be of an unquiet and over-active Spirit; and thereupon sequestered him from his Attendance. There were many Officers who had served in Duke *Hamilton's* Engagement, as *Middleton*, and others, who had very entire Affections for the King; and many of them had corresponded with *Mountrose*, and resolved to have

B O O K  
XIII.

The King's  
affairs in  
*Scotland*.

B O O K  
XIII.

joined with him; and finding themselves excluded, as all of them were, from any Employment by the Power of *Argyle*, had retired into the High-lands, and remained there concealed in expectation of some good Season, in which they might avowedly appear. With some of these Dr. *Frazier* had held correspondence whilst he was in the Court, and had often spoken to the King of their Affection, and readiness to serve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his Majesty's gracious Acceptation of their Service, and his Resolution to employ them. And now not being himself suffered to come to the Court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them; and held Intelligence with the Lord *Lautherdale*, who had always great confidence in him; and the Officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the Doctor understanding them to undertake more than they did (for his Fidelity was never suspected) he gave the King such an Account of their Numbers, as well as Resolutions, that his Majesty appointed a day for their Rendezvous, and promised to be present with them, and then to publish a Declaration (which was likewise prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and against the Person of *Argyle*; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* gave himself wholly up, and imparted to him all this correspondence, having found some of the Letters which had passed, by the King's having left his Cabinet open; for he was not at all trusted in it.

But *Argyle* did not think the time so near; so that the King did prosecute this purpose so far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty Horse, into the High-lands, and lodged there one night; neither

The King  
withdraws  
towards the  
High-lands;

the Marquis of *Argyle*, nor any Body else, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great distraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared design, contrived and conducted by Dr. *Frazier*, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruined the King. It was afterwards called the *Start*; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of Wise Men, very much to his Majesty's advantage. For though he was compelled the next day to return, with a circumstance that seemed to have somewhat of force in it (for as the Company he looked for failed to appear, so there was a Troop of Horse, which he looked not for, sent by *Argyle*, who used very effectual instance with him to return) yet notwithstanding, this Declaration of his Majesty's resentment, together with the observation of what the People generally spoke upon it, "that the King was not treated as he ought to be," made the Marquis of *Argyle* change his Counsels, and to be more solicitous to satisfy the King. A Summons was sent out, in the King's name, to call a Parliament; and great preparations were really made for the Coronation; and the Season of the year, against which *Cromwell* was securing himself in *Edinburgh*, and making Provisions for his Army, the Winter coming on, and the strong Passes which were easy then to be guarded, hindered the Enemies advance: so that the King resided, sometimes at *Sterling*, and sometimes at St. *Johnston's*, with convenience enough. The Parliament met at *Sterling*, and shortly after brought all the Lords of the other Party thither, who appeared to have credit enough to wipe off those stains with

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XIII.

which was  
called the  
Start.

But is persuad-  
ed to return  
the next day.

The King  
better used  
afterwards by  
*Argyle*.

A Parliament  
summoned  
in the King's  
name.

It meets at  
*Sterling*, and  
reconciles the  
Lords.



**B O O K** which the Engagement had defaced them, yet with  
**XIII.** submission to stand publicly in the Stool of Repentance, acknowledging their former Transgressions; as they all did.

Duke *Hamilton* and *Lautherdale* were welcome to the King, and nearest his Confidence; which neither the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had cast off their Friendship as unuseful, nor the Marquis of *Argyle*, were pleased with. The King himself grew very Popular, and, by his frequent conferences with the Knights and Burgesses, got any thing passed in the Parliament which he desired. He caused many infamous Acts to be repealed, and provided for the raising an Army, whereof himself was General; and no exceptions were taken to those Officers who had formerly served the King his Father.

The Coronation was passed with great Solemnity and Magnificence, all Men making show of Joy, and of being united to serve his Majesty: yet the Marquis of *Argyle* preserved his greatness and interest so well, and was still so considerable, that it was thought very expedient to raise an imagination in him, that the King had a purpose to Marry one of his Daughters; which was carried so far, that the King could no otherwise defend himself from it, than by sending an Express into *France* for the Queen his Mother's consent (which seemed not to be doubted of) and to that purpose Captain *Titus*, a Person grateful to *Argyle*, and to all the Presbyterian Party, was sent; who, finding the Queen less warm upon the Proposition than was expected, made less haste back; so that the Fate of *Scotland* was first determined.

An Army  
 raised, of  
 which the King  
 is General.

The Corona-  
 tion.

The King's Army was as well modelled, and in as good a Condition as it was like to be whilst he stayed in *Scotland*. By that time that *Cromwell* was ready to take the Field, his Majesty was persuaded to make *David Lesley* his Lieutenant-General of the Army; who had very long experience, and a very good Name in War; and *Middleton* Commanded the Horse. The Artillery was in very good order under the Command of *Wemmes*, who had not the worse Reputation there for having been ungrateful to the King's Father. He was a confessed good Officer; and there were, or could be, very few Officers of any superior Command, but such who had drawn their Swords against his late Majesty; most of those who had served under the Marquis of *Mountrose*, having been put to death. Many of the greatest Noblemen had raised Regiments, or Troops; and all the young Gentlemen of the Kingdom appeared very hearty and cheerful in Commands, or as Volunteers: and, in all appearance, they seemed a Body equal in any respect, and superior in Number, to the Enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifest that they desired nothing more than to come to Battle; which was not thought Counsellable for the King's Army to engage in, except upon very notable Advantages; which they had reason every day to expect; for there was a very broad and deep River between them; and if they kept the Passes, of which they were possessed, and could hardly chuse but keep, *Cromwell* must in a very few days want Provisions, and so be forced to retire, whilst the King had plenty of all things which he stood in need of, and could, by the ad-

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XIII.

*Cromwell*  
endeavours  
to fight the  
King's Army.

**B O O K** vantage of the Passes, be in his Rear as soon as he thought fit.

**XIII.**

Both Armies  
near each other  
in the Months  
of June and  
July.

Cromwell  
gains a Pass,  
and gets be-  
hind the King.

In this posture both Armies stood in view of each other near the two Months of *June* and *July*, with some small attempts upon each other, with equal Success. About the end of *July*, by the cowardice or treachery of Major-General *Brown*, who had a Body of four thousand Men to keep it, *Cromwell's* Forces under *Lambert* gained the Pass, by which they got behind the King; and though they could not compel his Majesty to fight, for there was still the great River between them, they were possessed, or might quickly be, of the most fruitful part of the Country; and so would not only have sufficient Provision for their own Army, but in a short time would be able to cut off much of that which should supply the King's. This was a great surprize to the King, and put him into new Counsels; and he did, with the unanimous Advice of almost all the principal Officers, and all those who were admitted to the Council, take a resolution worthy of his Courage; which, how unfortunate soever it proved, was evidence enough that the same misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

The King was now, by *Cromwell's* putting himself behind him, much nearer to *England* than He: nor was it possible for him to overtake his Majesty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to pass, till after the King had been some days march before him: his Majesty's fate depended upon the Success of one Battle: for a possible Escape into the High-lands, after a Defeat, there was no Kingly prospect: all the Northern parts of *England* had given him cause to believe that they

were very well affected to his Service, and if he could reach those Countries, he might presume to increase his Army, which was numerous enough, with an Addition of such Men as would make it much more considerable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforesaid, it was resolved that the Army should immediately march, with as much Expedition as was possible, into *England*, by the nearest ways, which led into *Lancashire*, whither the King sent Expresses to give those, of whom he expected much (by reason some of them had been in *Scotland* with him, with promise of large undertakings) notice of his purpose, that they might get their Soldiers together to receive him. His Majesty sent likewise an Express to the Isle of *Man*, where the Earl of *Derby* had securely reposed himself from the end of the former War, "that he should meet his Majesty in *Lancashire*." The Marquis of *Argyle* was the only Man who dissuaded his Majesty's march into *England*, with reasons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he stayed behind; and, when the King begun his march, retired to his House in the High-lands. Some were of opinion, that he should then have been made Prisoner, and left so secured that he might not be able to do mischief when the King was gone, which most Men believed he would incline to. But his Majesty would not consent to it, because he was confident "he would not attempt  
 " anything while the Army was entire: if it prevailed,  
 " he neither would, nor could do any harm; and if  
 " it were defeated, it would be no great matter what  
 " he did."

BOOK  
XIII.

The King  
resolves to  
march into  
*England*.

The Marquis  
of *Argyle* only  
dissuaded it,  
and stayed  
behind, and  
retired to his  
House.

Though *Cromwell* was not frequently without good



**BOOK** Intelligence what was done in the King's Army, and  
**XIII.** Councils, yet this last resolution was consulted with

so great secrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the King had marched a whole day without his comprehending what the meaning was, and before he received the least advertisement of it.

It was not a small surprise to him, nor was it easy for him to resolve what to do. If he should follow with his whole Army, all the Advantages he had got in *Scotland*, would be presently lost, and the whole Kingdom be again united in any new mischief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the King; whose Army, he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than His could do.

There were two considerations which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible consternation he foresaw the Parliament would be in, when they heard that the King with his Army was nearer to them, than their own Army was for their defence; and he knew that he had Enemies enough to improve their fear, and to lessen his Conduct: the other was, the Apprehension, that, if the King had time given to rest in any place, he would infinitely increase and strengthen his Army by the resort of the People, as well as the Gentry and Nobility from all parts. And though he did so much undervalue the *Scottish* Army, that he would have been glad to have found himself engaged with it, upon any inequality of Numbers, and disadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with *English*, they might be made very considerable. He took a very quick resolution to provide for all the best he could: he despatched an Express to

Cromwell's  
 Resolutions  
 and Councils  
 upon this  
 News.

the Parliament, to prevent their being surpris'd with the News; and to assure them, "that he would himself overtake the Enemy before they should give them any trouble;" and gave such farther Orders for drawing the Auxiliary-Troops together in the several Counties, as he thought fit.

He gave *Lambert* Order, "immediately to follow the King with seven or eight hundred Horse, and to draw as many others as he could, from the Country-Militia; and to disturb his Majesty's march the most he could, by being near, and obliging him to march close; not engaging his own Party in any sharp Actions, without a very notorious advantage; but to keep himself entire till he should come up to him." With this Order *Lambert* marched away the same day the Advertisment came.

*Cromwell* resolv'd then to leave Major-General *Monk*, upon whom he look'd with most confidence, as an excellent Officer of Foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a strong Party of Foot, and some Troops of Horse, strong enough to suppress any Forces which should rise after his departure, "to keep *Edinburgh*, and the Harbour of *Leith*; to surprize and apprehend as many of the Nobility, and considerable Gentry, as he should suspect, and keep them under custody; to use the highest severity against all who oppos'd him; and, above all, not to endure or permit the Licence of the Preachers in their Pulpits; and to make himself as formidable as was possible: in the last place, that, as soon as there appeared no visible force in the Field, he should besiege *Sterling*;" whither most Persons of condition were retir'd with

B O O K  
XIII.

Orders *Lambert* to follow the King with a Body of Horse.

Leaves *Monk* in Scotland.

**BOOK** their Goods of Value, as to a place of strength, and  
**XIII.** capable of being defended ; where the Records of the Kingdom, and many other things of most account were deposited ; it being the place where the King had, for the most part, resided. He charged him, ‘ if  
 “ at St. *Johnston*’s or any other place, he found a  
 “ stubborn resistance, and were forced to spend much  
 “ time, or to take it by Storm, that he should give no  
 “ Quarter, nor exempt it from a general Plunder ; all which Rules *Monk* observed with the utmost rigor ; and made himself as terrible as Man could be.

And follows  
 the King three  
 days after.

When *Cromwell* had despatched all these Orders and Directions, with marvellous Expedition, and seen most of them advanced in some degree, he begun his own March with the remainder of his Army, three days after the King was gone, with a wonderful cheerfulness, and assurance to the Officers and Soldiers, that he should obtain a full Victory in *England* over those who fled from him out of *Scotland*.

The King had, from the time that he had recovered any Authority in *Scotland*, granted a Commission to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to raise a Regiment of Horse which *Massey* was to command under him, and to raise another Regiment of Foot. And the *English* which should resort thither, of which they expected great Numbers, were to List themselves in those Regiments. And there were some who had Listed themselves accordingly ; but the discipline the *Scots* had used to the King, and their adhering to their old Principles, even after they seemed united for his Majesty, had kept the King’s friends in *England* from repairing to them in *Scotland*. They who came from

*Holland* with the King, had disposed themselves as is said before, and there was little doubt but that, as soon as the King should enter *England*, those two Regiments would be immediately full. The Duke of *Buckingham* had lost much ground (and the more because the King was not pleased with it) by his having broken off all manner of Friendship with Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* (to whom he had professed so much) and had entered into so fast a conjunction with the Marquis of *Argyle*, their declared irreconcilable Enemy, and adhered so firmly to him, when he was less dutiful to the King than he ought to have been. *Massey* had got a great Name by his defending *Glocester* against the late King, and was looked upon as a Martyr for the Presbyterian Interest, and so very dear to that Party; and therefore, as soon as they came within the borders of *England*, he was sent with some Troops before, and was always to march at least a day before the Army, to the end that he might give notice of the King's coming, and draw the Gentry of the Counties through which he passed, to be ready to attend upon his Majesty. Besides, he had particular acquaintance with most of the Presbyterians of *Lancashire*; whom Nobody imagined to be of the *Scottish* temper, or unwilling to unite and join with the Royal Party; nor indeed were they.

*Massey* sent  
to march  
before the  
King.

But it was fatal at that time to all *Scottish* Armies, to have always in them a Committee of Ministers, who ruined all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to chuse such Men for that Service as had the reputation of being the most Sober, and Moderate of that whole Body, and who

A Committee  
of Ministers  
in the King's  
Army, who  
ruin all.



**B O O K** had showed more Affection, and advanced the King's  
**XIII.** Service more than the rest; yet this moderate People no sooner heard that *Massey* was sent before to call upon their Friends, and observed that, from the entrance into *England*, those about the King seemed to have less regard for the Covenant than formerly, but they sent an Express to him, without communicating it in the least degree with the King, with Letters, and a Declaration, wherein they required him "to publish that Declaration, which signified the King's, and the whole Army's Zeal for the Covenant, and their Resolution to prosecute the true intent of it;" and forbid him "to receive or entertain any Soldiers in his Troops, but those who would subscribe that obligation." The King had soon notice of this, and lost no time in sending to *Massey* "not to publish any such Declaration, and to behave himself with equal civility towards all Men who were forward to serve his Majesty." But before this inhibition was received, the matter had taken Air in all places, and was spread over the Kingdom; all Men fled from their Houses, or concealed themselves, who wished the King very well; and besides, his Motion was so quick, that none of them could repair to him.

The Earl of  
 Derby met  
 the King in  
 Lancashire.

Lambert  
 follows, but

In *Lancashire* the Earl of *Derby* met him; who, as soon as he received his Summons, left the Isle of *Man*. When the King's Army came about *Warrington*, in *Cheeshire*, they found, that there was a Body of the Enemy drawn up in a fair Field, which did not appear considerable enough to stop their march. This was *Lambert*; who had made so much haste, that he  
 had

had that day fallen upon some of their Troops, and beaten them into the Army; but when the Army came up, *Lambert*, according to his Order and purpose, retired, and, being pursued by the King's Horse with a greater party, made more haste than a well ordered retreat requires, but with no considerable loss. This Success made a great noise; as if *Lambert* had been defeated.

At *Warrington* it was thought Counsellable, very unfortunately, that the Earl of *Derby*, with the Lord *Wihrrington*, and several other Officers of good Name, should return into *Lancashire*, in order to raise the well affected in those two Counties of *Lancashire* and *Cheeshire*; who could not come in upon so quick a march, as the King had made: and yet it being out of the road that *Cromwell* was to follow, who was entered into *Yorkshire*, the remaining of those Persons there, was thought a good Expedient to gather a Body of *English*, which the King extremely desired: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the Army. In order to which, the Earl had a Body of near two hundred Horse, consisting, for the most part, of Officers, and Gentlemen; which deprived the Army of a strength they wanted; and was afterwards acknowledged to be a Counsel too suddenly entered upon.

Upon appearance of that Body of *Lambert's*, the whole Army was drawn up, and appeared very cheerful. The King having observed *David Lesley*, throughout the whole march, sad and melancholy, and, at that time when the Enemy retired, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good retreat used to be made,

B O O K  
XIII.  
is forced to  
retire.

At Warring-  
ton the Earl of  
Derby parts  
from the King,  
and is sent to  
Lancashire  
with other Of-  
ficers to raise  
Forces.

**B O O K** flow in giving Orders, and residing by himself, his  
**XIII.** Majesty rode up to him, and asked him, with great alacrity, "how he could be sad, when he was in the head of so brave an Army?" (which he said looked well that day) and demanded of him, "how  
 David Lesley's "he liked them?" To which *David Lesley* answered  
 saying con- him in his Ear, being at some distance from any other,  
 cerning the "that he was melancholy indeed; for he well knew  
 Scottish Army. "that Army, how well soever it looked, would not  
 "Fight:" which the King imputed to the chagrin of his Humor, and gave it no credit, nor told it to any Man, till some years after, upon another occasion which will be remembered in it's place, he told the Chancellor of the Exchequer of it.

It was not thought fit to pursue *Lambert*; who, being known to be a Man of Courage and Conduct, and his Troops to be of the best, was suspected, by so disorderly, a Retreat, to have only designed to have drawn the Army another way, to disorder and disturb their march; which they resolved to continue with the same Expedition they had hitherto used, which was incredible; until they should come to such a Post as they might securely rest themselves. And there was an imagination, that they might have continued it even to *London*; which would have produced wonderful Effects. But they quickly found that to be impossible, and that both Horse and Foot grew so weary, that they must have rest: the weather was exceedingly hot; the march having been begun near the beginning of *August*; so that if they had not some rest before an Enemy approached them, how willing soever they might be, they could not be able to Fight.

There was a small Garrison in *Shrewsbury* Com-  
 manded by a Gentleman, who, it was thought, might  
 be prevailed with to give it up to the King; but his  
 Majesty sending to him, he returned a rude denial:  
 so that his Majesty's Eye was upon *Worcester*; that  
 was so little out of his way to *London*, that the going  
 thither would not much retard the march, if they  
 found the Army able to continue it. *Worcester* had  
 always been a place very well affected in itself, and  
 most of the Gentlemen of that County had been en-  
 gaged for the King in the former War, and the City  
 was the last that had Surrendered to the Parliament,  
 of all those which had been Garrisoned for his Ma-  
 jesty; when all the Works were thrown down, and  
 no Garrison from that time had been kept there; the  
 Sheriff and Justices, and Committees, having had  
 power enough to defend it against any malignity of  
 the Town, or County; and at this time, all the  
 principal Gentry of that County had been seized  
 upon, and were now Prisoners there. Thither the  
 King came with his Army, even as soon as they had  
 heard that he was in *England*: whereupon the Com-  
 mittee, and all those who were employed by the Par-  
 liament, fled in all the confusion imaginable, leaving  
 their Prisoners behind them, lest they themselves  
 should become Prisoners to them; and the City  
 opened their Gates, and received the King, with all  
 the demonstration of Affection and Duty that could  
 be expressed, and made such provision for the Army,  
 that it wanted nothing it could desire; the Mayor  
 taking care for the present provision of Shoes and  
 Stockings, the want whereof, in so long a march, was

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The King  
Summons  
*Shrewsbury* in  
vain.

The King  
marches to  
*Worcester*.



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very apparent and grievous. The principal Persons of the Country found themselves at liberty; and They, and the Mayor and Aldermen, with all the Solemnity they could prepare, attended the Herald, who proclaimed the King, as he had done, in more haste and with less formality, in all those considerable Towns through which his Majesty had passed.

Where he is  
proclaimed.

The Army liked their Quarters here so well, that neither Officer, nor Soldier was in any degree willing to quit them, till they should be thoroughly refreshed: and it could not be denied that the fatigue had been even insupportable; never had so many hundred Miles been marched in so few days (and with so little rest; nor did it in truth appear reasonable to any that they should remove from thence, since it was not possible that they should be able to reach *London*, though it had been better prepared for the King's reception than it appeared to be, before *Cromwell* would be there: who, having with great haste continued his march in a direct Line, was now as near to it as the King's Army was, and stood only at a gaze to be informed what his Majesty meant to do. *Worcester* was a very good Post, seated almost in the middle of the Kingdom, and in as fruitful a Country as any part of it; a good City, served by the noble River of *Severn* from all the adjacent Counties; *Wales* behind it, from whence Levies might be made of great Numbers of stout Men: it was a place where the King's Friends might repair, if they had the Affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himself, if the Enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be com-

pelled to engage his Army in a Battle till *Cromwell* had gotten Men enough to encompass him on all sides: and then the King might chuse on which side to Fight, since the Enemy must be on both sides the River, and could not come suddenly to reliever each other, and the straitening the King to this degree would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for several Insurrections in the Kingdom, if they were so weary of the present Tyranny, and so solicitous to be restored to the King's Government, as they were conceived to be: for no Body could ever hope for a more secure season to manifest their Loyalty, than when the King was in the heart of the Kingdom, with a formed Army of about fifteen thousand Men, Horse, and Foot (for so they might be accounted to be) with which he might relieve those who were in danger to be oppressed by a more powerful Party. These considerations produced the Resolution to provide, in the best manner, to expect *Cromwell* there; and a hope that he might be delayed by other diversions: and there was like to be time enough to cast up such Works upon the Hill before the Town, as might keep the Enemy at a distance, and their own Quarters from being suddenly straitened: all which were recommended to General *Lesley* to take care of, and to take such a perfect View of the Ground, that no advantage might be lost when the time required it.

The first ill Omen that happened, was the News of the defeat of the Earl of *Derby*, and the total destruction of those gallant Persons who accompanied him. The Earl of *Derby*, within two or three days

The ill success  
of the Earl of  
*Derby*.

**B O O K** after he had left the King, with a Body of near two  
**XIII.** hundred Horse, all gallant Men, employed his Servants, and Tenants, to give the Country notice of his staying behind the King, to Head and Command those Persons who should repair to his service; which the quick march his Majesty made through the Country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the People, he went to a little Market-Town, called *Wigan*, in *Lancashire*, where he stayed that Night; when in the Morning a Regiment or two of the Militia of the neighbour-Countries, and some other Troops of the Army, Commanded by a Man of Courage, whom *Cromwell* had sent to follow in the track of the King's march, to gather up the Stragglers, and such as were not able to keep pace with the Army, having received some Advertisement that a Troop of the King's Horse were behind the Army in that Town, fell very early into it, before the Persons in the Town were out of their Beds, having assurance, upon all the inquiry they could make, that there was no Enemy near them. Nor indeed, was there any suspicion of those Forces, which consisted of the several Troops of the several Counties with others of the Army, and passed that way by accident. As many as could get to their Horses, presently mounted; they who could not, put themselves together on Foot, and all endeavoured to keep the Enemy from entering into the Town; and the few who were got on Horseback, Charged them with great Courage. But the Number of the Enemy was too great, and the Town too open, to put a stop to them in any one place, when they could enter

at so many, and encompass those who opposed them. B O O K  
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The Earl of *Derby*, after his Horse had been killed under him, made a shift to mount again; and so, with a small Party of Horse, through many difficulties and dangers, escaped wounded to the King to *Worcester*.

The Lord *Withrington*, after he had received many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon those who assaulted him, was killed upon the place; and so was Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, and many other gallant Gentlemen, very few escaping to carry News of the defeat. Sir *William Throgmorton*, who had been formerly Major-General of the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, and was left to Command in the same function, received so many wounds, that he was looked upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the Prisoners; and so fell into such charitable and generous hands in the Town, that, being believed to be dead, he was afterwards so well recovered, though with great Maims and loss of Blood, that he at last got himself Transported into *Holland*; where he was, at first appearance, taken for a Ghost, all Men believing him to have been buried long before. Most of those who were taken Prisoners, of any Quality, were afterwards Sacrificed as a spectacle to the People, and Barbarously put to death in several places; some, with the Earl of *Derby*; and others, near the same time, in other places.

The Lord *Withrington* was one of the most goodly Persons of that Age, being near the head higher than most tall Men, and a Gentleman of the best and most

The Lord  
*Withrington*  
killed upon  
the place.

The Lord  
*Withrington's*  
Character.



**B O O K** ancient Extraction of the County of *Northumberland*,  
**XIII.** and of a very fair Fortune, and one of the four which the late King made choice of to be about the Person of his Son the Prince as Gentleman of his Privy-Chamber, when he first settled his Family. His Affection to the King was always remarkable, and serving in the House of Commons as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Northumberland*, he quickly got the reputation of being amongst the most Malignant. As soon as the War broke out, he was of the first who raised both Horse and Foot at his own Charge, and served eminently with them under the Marquis of *New-Castle*; with whom he had a very particular and entire Friendship. He was very nearly allied to the Marquis; and by his Testimony that he had performed many signal Services, he was, about the middle of the War, made a Peer of the Kingdom. He was a Man of great Courage, but of some Passion, by which he incurred the ill Will of many, who imputed it to an insolence of Nature, which no Man was farther from; no Man of a Nature more civil, and candid towards all, in business, or conversation. But having sat long in the House of Commons, and observed the dissingenuity of the proceedings there, and the gross cheats, by which they deceived and cozened the People, he had contracted so hearty an indignation against them, and all who were cozened by them, and against all who had not his Zeal to oppose and destroy them, that he often said things to slow and flegmatic Men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good Nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask

Pardon of those who would not question him for it. BOOK  
XIII.  
 He Transported himself into the parts beyond the Sea at the same time with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, to accompany him, and remained still with him till the King went into *Scotland*; and then waited upon his Majesty, and endured the same Affronts which others did, during the time of his Residence there. And, it may be, the observation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their Principles, and the disdain of their Treatment, produced that aversion from their conversation, that prevailed upon his impatience to part too soon from their Company, in hope that the Earl of *Derby*, under whom he was very willing to serve, and he himself, might quickly draw together such a Body of the Royal Party, as might give some check to the unbounded imaginations of that Nation. It was reported by the Enemy, that, in respect of his brave Person and behaviour, they did offer him Quarter; which he refused; and that they were thereby compelled, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the Animosity the Parliament had against him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have used him better than they did the Earl of *Derby*; who had not more Enemies.

Sir *Thomas Tildesley* was a Gentleman of a good Family, and a good Fortune; who had raised Men at his own Charge at the beginning of the War, and had served in the Command of them till the very end of it, with great Courage; and refusing to make any composition after the Murder of the King, he

And Sir  
 Thomas  
 Tildesley's.

B O O K found means to Transport himself into *Ireland* to the  
 XIII. Marquis of *Ormond*; with whom he staid, till he  
 was, with the rest of the *English* Officers, dismissed,  
 to satisfy the barbarous Jealousy of the *Irish*; and  
 then got over into *Scotland* a little before the King  
 marched from thence, and was desired by the Earl  
 of *Derby* to remain with him. The Names of the  
 other Persons of Quality who were killed in that  
 encounter, and those who were taken Prisoners, and  
 afterwards put to death, ought to be discovered, and  
 mentioned honorably, by any who shall propose to  
 himself to communicate particularly those Trans-  
 actions to the view of Posterity.

When the News of this Defeat came to *Worcester*,  
 as it did even almost as soon as the King came thi-  
 ther, it exceedingly afflicted his Majesty, and abated  
 much of the hope he had of a general Rising of the  
 People on his behalf. His Army was very little in-  
 creased by the access of any *English*; and though  
 he had passed near the habitation of many Persons  
 of Honor and Quality, whose Affections and Loyalty  
 had been eminent, not a Man of them repaired to  
 him. The sense of their former Sufferings remained,  
 and the smart was not over; nor did his stay in  
*Worcester* for so many days add any resort to his  
 Court. The Gentlemen of the Country whom his  
 coming thither had redeemed from imprisonment,  
 remained still with him, and were useful to him; they  
 who were in their Houses in the Country, though  
 as well affected, remained there, and came not to  
 him; and though Letters from *London* had given him  
 cause to believe that many prepared to come to him,

which for some days they might easily have done, none appeared, except only some few Gentlemen, and some common Men who had formerly served the last King, and repaired again to *Worcester*.

There were some other Accidents and Observations which administered matter of Mortification to the King. The Duke of *Buckingham* had a mind very restless, and thought he had not credit enough with the King if it were not made manifest that he had more than any Body else: and therefore, as soon as the King had entered *England*, though he had reason to believe that his Majesty had not been abundantly satisfied with his behaviour in *Scotland*, he came to the King, and told him, “the business was now to reduce *England* to his obedience; and therefore he ought to do all things gracious, and popular in the eyes of the Nation; and nothing could be less so, than that the Army should be under the Command of a *Scottish* General: that *David Lesley* was only Lieutenant-General; and it had been unreasonable, whilst he remained in *Scotland*, to have put any other to have commanded over him; but that it would be as unreasonable, now they were in *England*, and had hope to increase the Army by the access of the *English*, upon whom his principal dependance must be, to expect that they would be willing to serve under *Lesley*: that it would not consist with the honor of any Peer of *England* to receive His Orders; and, he believed, that very few of that Rank would repair to his Majesty, till they were secure from that apprehension;” and used much more discourse to that

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Transactions  
of the King  
at Worcester.



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pose. The King was so much surpris'd with it, that he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and asked him, "who it was" that he thought fit his Majesty should give that "Command to?" when, to his astonishment, the Duke told him, "he hoped his Majesty would confer it upon himself." At which the King was so amazed, that he found an occasion to break off the discourse, by calling upon some Body who was near, to come to him; and, by asking many questions, declined the former Argument. The Duke would not be so put off; but, the next day, in the march, renewed his importunity; and told the King, "that, he was confident, what he had propos'd to him, was so evidently for his Service, that *David Lesley* himself would willingly consent to it." The King, angry at his prosecuting it in that manner, told him, "he could hardly believe that he was in earnest, or that he could in truth believe that he could be fit for such a Charge;" which the Duke seem'd to wonder at, and asked, "wherein his unsuitness lay?" to which the King replied, "that he was too young:" and he as readily alledged, "that *Harry* the fourth of *France* commanded an Army, and won a Battle, when he was younger than He:" so that, in the end, the King was compelled to tell him, "that he would have no Generalissimo but Himself:" upon which the Duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the Council, scarce spoke to the King, neglected every Body else and himself, insomuch as for many days he scarce put on clean Linen, nor conversed with any Body; nor did he recover from this ill humor whilst the Army stay'd at *Worcester*.

There was another worse Accident fell out soon after the King's coming thither: Major-General *Massey*, who thought himself now in his own Territory, and that all between *Worcester* and *Glocester* would be quickly his own Conquest, knowing every step both by Land and the River, went out with a Party to secure a Pass, which the Enemy might make over the River; which he did very well; but would then make a farther inroad into the Country, and possess a House which was of small importance, and in which there were Men to defend it; where he received a very dangerous Wound, that tore his Arm, and Hand, in such manner that he was in great torment, and could not stir out of his bed, in a time when his Activity and Industry was most wanted. By this means, the Pass he had secured, was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care for.

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General  
Massey  
wounded in  
an attempt,

There was no good understanding between the Officers of the Army: *David Lesley* appeared dispirited, and confounded; gave, and revoked his Orders, and sometimes contradicted them. He did not love *Middleton*, and was very jealous that all the Officers loved him too well; who was indeed an excellent Officer, and kept up the Spirits of the rest, who had no esteem of *Lesley*. In this very unhappy distemper was the Court, and the Army, in a Season when they were ready to be swallowed by the power, and multitude of the Enemy, and when nothing could preserve them, but the most sincere Unity in their prayers to God, and a joint concurrence in their Counsels and endeavours; in all which they were miserably divided.

The ill disposition of the King's Officers.

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The King had been several days in *Worcester*, when *Cromwell* was known to be within less than half a day's march, with an addition of very many Regiments of Horse and Foot to those which he had brought with him from *Scotland*; and many other Regiments were drawing towards him of the Militia of the several Counties, under the command of the principal Gentlemen of their party in the Countries: so that he was already very much superior, if not double in Number to the Army the King had with him. However, if those Rules had been observed, those Works cast up, and that order in quartering their Men, as were resolved upon when the King came thither, there must have been a good defence made, and the Advantages of the ground, the River, and the City, would have preserved them from being presently over-run. But, alas! the Army was in amazement and confusion. *Cromwell*, without troubling himself with the formality of a Siege, marched directly on as to a Prey, and possessed the Hill and all other places of Advantage, with very little opposition. It was upon the third of *September*, when the King having been upon his Horse most part of the Night, and having taken a full view of the Enemy, and every body being upon the Post they were appointed, and the Enemy making such a stand, that it was concluded he meant to make no Attempt then, and if he should, he might be repelled with ease; his Majesty, a little before Noon, retired to his Lodging to eat, and refresh himself: where he had not been near an hour, when the Alarm came, "that both Armies" were engaged;" and though his Majesty's own

The King's  
defeat at  
*Worcester*  
3d of Sep-  
tember.

Horse was ready at the door, and he presently mounted, before or as soon as he came out of the City, he met the whole Body of his Horse running in so great disorder, that he could not stop them, though he used all the means he could, and called to many Officers by their Names; and hardly preserved himself, by letting them pass by, from being overthrown, and over-run by them.

*Cromwell* had used none of the delay, nor circumspection which was imagined; but directed the Troops to fall on in all places at once; and had caused a strong Party to go over the River at the Pass, which *Massey* had formerly secured, at a good distance from the Town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that side the River, till they were even ready to charge the King's Troops. On that part where *Middleton* was, and with whom Duke *Hamilton* charged, there was a very brave resistance; and they charged the Enemy so vigorously, that they beat the Body that charged them back, but they were quickly overpowered; and many Gentlemen being killed, and *Middleton* hurt, and Duke *Hamilton's* Leg broke with a Shot, the rest were forced to retire and shift for themselves. In no other part was there resistance made; but such a general consternation possessed the whole Army, that the rest of the Horse fled, and all the Foot threw down their Arms before they were charged. When the King came back into the Town, he found a good Body of Horse, which had been persuaded to make a stand, though much the major part passed through upon the Spur. The King desired those who stood,



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“ that they would follow him, that they might look upon the Enemy, who, he believed, did not pursue them.” But when his Majesty had gone a little way, he found most of the Horse were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few Servants of his own about him. Then he sent to have the Gates of the Town shut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other : but all was confusion ; there were few to Command, and none to obey : so that the King staid, till very many of the Enemy’s Horse were entered the Town, and then he was persuaded to withdraw himself.

Duke Hamilton died of his wounds.

His Character.

Duke *Hamilton* fell into the Enemy’s hands ; and, the next day, died of his Wounds ; and thereby prevented the being made a Spectacle, as his Brother had been ; which the Pride and Animosity of his Enemies would no doubt have caused to be, having the same pretence for it by his being a Peer of *England*, as the other was. He was in all respects to be much preferred before the other, a much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning Man : for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other’s Master-piece. He had unquestionable courage : he was in truth a very accomplished Person, of an excellent Judgment, and clear and ready Expressions : and though he had been driven into some unwarrantable Actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any Inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily run to all opportunities of redeeming it : and, in the very Article of his death, he expressed a marvellous cheerfulness, “ that he had the honor to lose his life in the King’s Service, and thereby to wipe out the  
“ memory

“memory of his former transgressions;” which he always professed were odious to himself.

As the Victory cost the Enemy little blood, so after it there was not much cruelty used to the Prisoners who were taken upon the spot. But very many of those who run away, were every day knocked in the head by the Country-People, and used with barbarity. Towards the King’s menial Servants, whereof most were taken, there was nothing of severity; but within few days they were all discharged, and set at liberty.

Though the King could not get a Body of Horse to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from *Worcester*, when he found about him near, if not above, four thousand of his Horse. There was *David Lesley* with all his own Equipage, as if he had not fled upon the sudden; so that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a retreat even into *Scotland* itself. But there was paleness in every Man’s looks, and jealousy, and confusion, in their Faces; and scarce any thing could worse befall the King, than a return into *Scotland*; which yet he could not reasonably promise to himself in that company. But when the Night covered them, he found means to withdraw himself with one or two of his own Servants; whom he likewise discharged, when it begun to be Light; and after he had made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent Wood, and relied only upon Him for his preservation who alone could, and did Miraculously deliver him.

The King’s  
Retreat, and  
concealment.

When it was Morning, and the Troops, which had marched all Night, and who knew that when it

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begun to be dark the King was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared less for each other's company; and most of them who were *English* separated themselves, and went into other Roads; and wherever twenty Horse appeared of the Country, which was now awake, and upon their Guard to stop and arrest the Runaways, the whole Body of the *Scottish* Horse would fly, and run several ways; and twenty of them would give themselves Prisoners to two Country-Fellows: however, *David Lesley* reached *Yorkshire* with above fifteen hundred Horse in a Body. But the jealousies increased every day; and those of his own Country were so unsatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them, believe that he was corrupted by *Cromwell*; and the rest, who did not think so, believed him not to understand his profession, in which he had been bred from his Cradle. When he was in his flight, considering one Morning with the principal Persons, which way they should take, some proposed this, and others that way; Sir *William Armorer* asked him, "which way he thought best? which when he had named, the other said he would then go the other; for, he swore, he had betrayed the King and the Army all the time; and so left him."

*David Lesley*  
and the rest  
taken.

Well nigh all of them in this long flight were taken, and amongst them the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and many of the *Scottish* Nobility, and the Earls of *Cleveland* and *Derby*, and divers other Men of Quality of the *English* Nation. And it is hard to be believed how very few of that numerous Body of Horse (for there can be no imagination that any of the Foot escaped)

returned into *Scotland*. Upon all the inquiry that was made, when most of the false and treacherous Actions which had been committed were discovered, there appeared no cause to suspect that *David Lesley* had been unfaithful in his Charge: though he never recovered any Reputation with those of his own Country who wedded the King's Interest. And it was some vindication to him, that, from the time of his Imprisonment, he never received any favor from the Parliament, whom he had served so long; nor from *Cromwell*, in whose Company he had served; but underwent all the Severities, and long Imprisonment, the rest of his Country-men suffered. The King did not believe him false; and did always think him an excellent Officer of Horse, to distribute and execute Orders, but in no degree capable of Commanding in chief. And without doubt he was so amazed in that fatal day, that he performed not the Office of a General, or of any competent Officer.

They who fled out of *Worcester*, and were not killed, but made Prisoners, and all the Foot, and others who were taken in the Town, except some few Officers and Persons of Quality, were driven like Cattle with a Guard to *London*, and there treated with great rigor; and many perished for want of food; and being inclosed in little room, till they were sold to the Plantations for Slaves, they died of all diseases. *Cromwell* returned in Triumph; was received with universal Joy and Acclamation, as if he had destroyed the Enemy of the Nation, and for ever secured the Liberty, and Happiness of the People: a price was set upon the King's Head, whose escape was

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The King's  
Foot driven  
Prisoners to  
London, and  
sold to the  
Plantations.



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The Earl of  
Derby his  
Character  
and Execu-  
tion.

thought to be impossible ; and order taken for the Trial of the Earl of *Derby*, and such other notorious Prisoners as they had Voted to destruction.

The Earl of *Derby* was a Man of unquestionable Loyalty to the late King, and gave clear Testimony of it before he received any Obligations from the Court, and when he thought himself disoblged by it. This King, in his first year, sent him the Garter ; which, in many respects, he had expected from the last. And the sense of that Honor made him so readily comply with the King's Command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the Undertaking, nor any inclination to the *Scots* ; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depressed the Crown, to be made Instruments of repairing and restoring it. He was a Man of great Honor and clear Courage ; and all his defects, and misfortunes, proceeded from his having lived so little time among his Equals, that he knew not how to treat his Inferiors ; which was the Source of all the ill that befel him, having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from Persons of inferior Quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemned, that they pursued him to death. The King's Army was no sooner defeated at *Worcester*, but the Parliament renewed their old Method of Murdering in cold Blood, and sent a Commission to erect a High-Court of Justice to Persons of ordinary Quality, many not being Gentlemen, and all notoriously his Enemies, to Try the Earl of *Derby* for his Treason and Rebellion ; which they easily found him guilty of ; and put him to death in a Town of his own, against which he had expressed

a severe displeasure for their obstinate Rebellion against the King, with all the circumstances of Rudeness and Barbarity they could invent. The same Night, one of those who was amongst his Judges, sent a Trumpet to the Isle of *Man* with a Letter directed to the Countess of *Derby*, by which he required her "to deliver up the Castle and Island to the Parliament:" Nor did their Malice abate, till they had reduced that Lady, a Woman of very high and Princely Extraction, being the Daughter of the Duke de *Tremouille* in *France*, and of the most exemplary Virtue and Piety of her time, and that whole most noble Family, to the lowest penury and want, by disposing, giving, and selling, all the Fortune and Estate that should support it.

They of the King's Friends in *Flanders*, *France*, and *Holland*, who had not been permitted to attend upon his Majesty in *Scotland*, were much exalted with the News of his being entered *England* with a Powerful Army, and being possessed of *Worcester*, which made all Men prepare to make haste thither. But they were confounded with the News of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the Person of the King. "of his being found amongst the dead; of his being Prisoner;" and all those imaginations which naturally attend upon such unprosperous Events. Many who had made escapes, arrived every day in *France*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*, but knew no more what was become of the King, than They did who had not been in *England*. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongst those that fled, and some of them had seen

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him that Evening after the Battle, many Miles out of *Worcester*. These unsteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; sometimes they heard he was at the *Hague* with his Sister, which was occasioned by the arrival of the Duke of *Buckingham* in *Holland*; and it was thought good Policy to publish that the King himself was landed, that the Search after him in *England* might be discontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that side the Sea. And this anxiety of mind disquieted the hearts of all Honest Men during the whole Months of *September* and *October*, and part of *November*; in which Month his Majesty was known to be at *Rouen*; where he made himself known, and stayed some days to provide Clothes: and from thence gave notice to the Queen of his arrival.

THE KING  
came to Rouen  
in November

The particu-  
lars of the  
King's Escape  
after the Battle  
of Marston  
and of his coming  
to Rouen

It is great pity that there was never a Journal made of that Miraculous Deliverance, in which there might be seen so many visible impressions of the immediate Hand of God. When the darkness of the Night was over, after the King had cast himself into that Wood, he discerned another Man, who had gotten upon an Oak in the same Wood, near the place where the King had rested himself, and had slept soundly. The Man upon the Tree had first seen the King, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the King, being a Gentleman of the neighbour-County of *Staffordshire*, who had served his late Majesty during the War, and had now been one of the few who resorted to the King after his coming to *Worcester*. His name was *Cardale*, who had had a Command of Foot, about the degree of a Captain, under

The King  
came to Rouen  
in November

the Lord *Loughborough*. He persuaded the King, since it could not be safe for him to go out of the Wood, and that, as soon as it should be fully light, the Wood itself would probably be visited by those of the Country, who would be searching to find those whom they might make Prisoners, that he would get up into that Tree, where He had been: where the Boughs were so thick with leaves, that a Man would not be discovered there without a narrower Inquiry than People usually make in places which they do not suspect. The King thought it good Counsel; and, with the other's help, climbed into the Tree; and then helped his Companion to ascend after him; where they sat all that day, and securely saw Many who came purposely into the Wood to look after them, and heard all their discourse, how they would use the King himself if they could take him. This Wood was either in, or upon the Borders of *Staffordshire*; and though there was a High-way near one side of it, where the King had entered into it, yet it was large, and all other sides of it opened amongst Inclosures, and *Careless* was not unacquainted with the neighbour-Villages, and it was part of the King's good Fortune, that this Gentleman by being a Roman-Catholic, was acquainted with those of that Profession of all degrees, who had the best opportunities of concealing him: for it must never be denied, that some of that Religion had a very great share in his Majesty's preservation.

The day being spent in the Tree, it was not in the King's power to forget that he had lived two Days with eating very little, and two Nights with



**B O O K** as little sleep; so that, when the Night came, he  
**XIII.** was willing to make some provision for both: and he resolved, with the advice and assistance of his Companion, to leave his blessed Tree; and, when the Night was dark, they walked through the Wood into those Inclosures which were farthest from any High-way, and making a suit to get over Hedges and Ditches, after walking at least eight or nine Miles, which were the more grievous to the King by the weight of his Boots (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair, for want of Shoes) before Morning they came to a poor Cottage, the Owner whereof being a Roman Catholic was known to *Careless*. He was called up, and as soon as he knew one of them, he easily concluded in what condition they both were; and presently carried them into a little Barn, full of Hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himself. But when they were there, and had conferred with their Host of the news and temper of the Country, it was agreed, that the danger would be the greater if they stayed together; and therefore that *Careless* should presently be gone; and should, within two days, send an honest Man to the King, to guide him to some other place of security; and in the mean time his Majesty should stay upon the Hay-mow. The poor Man had nothing for him to eat, but promised him good Butter-milk; and so he was once more left alone, his Companion how weary soever, departing from him before day, the poor Man of the House knowing no more, than that he was a Friend of the Captain's, and one of those who had escaped from *Worcester*. The King slept

Thence he  
 came to a  
 Cottage nine  
 miles off,  
 where he lay  
 in a Barn.

very well in his lodging, till the time that his Host brought him a piece of Bread, and a great Pot of Butter-milk, which he thought the best food he ever had eaten. The poor Man spoke very intelligently to him of the Country, and of the People who were well, or ill affected to the King, and of the great fear, and terror, that possessed the hearts of those who were best affected." He told him, "that he himself lived by his daily Labor, and that what he had brought him was the Fare he and his Wife had; and that he feared, if he should endeavour to procure better, it might draw suspicion upon him, and People might be apt to think he had some body with him that was not of his own Family. However, if he would have him get some Meat, he would do it; but if he could bear this hard Diet, he should have enough of the Milk, and some of the Butter that was made with it." The King was satisfied with his reason, and would not run the hazard for a change of Diet; desired only the Man, that he might have his Company as often, and as much as he could give it him; there being the same reasons against the poor Man's discontinuing his Labor, as the alteration of his Fare.

After he had rested upon this Hay-mow, and fed upon this Diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another fellow, a little above the condition of his Host, came to the House, sent from *Careless*, to conduct the King to another House, more out of any Road near which any part of the Army was like to march. It was above twelve Miles that he was to go, and was to use the same

Thence he is  
conducted to  
another House  
12 miles off.

**B O O K** caution he had done the first Night, not to go in any  
**XIII.** common Road ; which his Guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new-dressed himself, changing Clothes with his Landlord ; he had a great mind to have kept his own Shirt, but he considered, that Men are not sooner discovered by any mark in disguises, than by having fine Linen in ill Clothes ; and so he parted with his Shirt too, and took the same his poor Host had then on. Though he had foreseen that he must leave his Boots, and his Landlord had taken the best care he could to provide an old pair of Shoes, yet they were not easy to him when he first put them on, and, in a short time after, grew very grievous to him. In this Equipage he set out from his first lodging in the beginning of the Night, under the conduct of this Guide ; who guided him the nearest way, crossing over Hedges and Ditches, that they might be in least danger of meeting passengers. This was so grievous a march, and he was so tired, that he was even ready to despair, and to prefer being taken and suffered to rest, before purchasing his Safety at that price. His Shoes had, after a few Miles, hurt him so much, that he had thrown them away, and walked the rest of the way in his ill Stockings, which were quickly worn out ; and his Feet, with the Thorns in getting over Hedges, and with the Stones in other places, were so hurt and wounded, that he many times cast himself upon the ground, with a desperate and obstinate Resolution to rest there till the Morning, that he might shift with less torment, what hazard soever he run. But his stout Guide still prevailed with him to make a new attempt, some-

times promising that the way should be better, and sometimes assuring him that he had but little farther to go: and in this distress and perplexity, before the Morning, they arrived at the House designed; which though it was better than that which he had left, his lodging was still in the Barn, upon Straw instead of Hay, a place being made as easy in it, as the expectation of a Guest could dispose it. Here he had such Meat and Porridge as such People use to have; with which, but especially with the Butter and the Cheese, he thought himself well feasted; and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, little better, Shoes and Stockings: and after his Feet were enough recovered that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor House, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble: for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his escape, all that was designed was only by shifting from one House to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that Quarter, which was more inhabited by the Roman-Catholics than most other parts in *England*, he was led from one to another of that Persuasion, and concealed with great Fidelity. But he then observed that he was never carried to any Gentleman's House, though that Country was full of them, but only to poor Houses of poor Men, which only yielded him rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better Houses, in regard of the resort, and the many Servants; or whether the Owners of great Estates, were the Owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions.

Thence to another; and so to others



## BOOK

## XIII.

Mr. Hudleston  
sent to him by  
Careless; who  
brought him  
to the Lord  
Wilmot.

Within few days, a very honest and discreet Person, one Mr. *Hudleston*, a Benedictine-Monk, who attended the Service of the Roman-Catholics in those parts, came to him, sent by *Careless*; and was a very great assistance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him, were at too great a distance to walk, he provided him a Horse, and more proper Habit than the Rags he wore. This Man told him, "that the Lord *Wilmot* lay concealed likewise  
" in a Friend's House of his; which his Majesty was  
" very glad of; and wished him to contrive some  
" means, how they might speak together;" which the other easily did; "and, within a night or two, brought them into one place. *Wilmot* told the King  
" that he had by very good Fortune, fallen into the  
" House of an honest Gentleman, one Mr. *Lane*, a  
" Person of an excellent Reputation for his Fidelity  
" to the King, but of so universal and general a good  
" Name, that, though he had a Son, who had been  
" a Colonel in the King's Service, during the late  
" War, and was then upon his way with Men to  
" *Worcester* the very day of the defeat, Men of all  
" Affections in the Country, and of all Opinions,  
" paid the old Man a very great respect: that he had  
" been very civilly treated there, and that the old  
" Gentleman had used some diligence to find out  
" where the King was, that he might get him to his  
" House; where, he was sure, he could conceal him  
" till he might contrive a full deliverance." He told him, "he had withdrawn from that House, in hope  
" that he might, in some other place, discover where  
" his Majesty was, and having now happily found

“ him, advised him to repair to that House, which  
 “ stood not near any other.”

B O O K

XIII.

The King inquired of the Monk of the reputation of this Gentleman; who told him, “ that he had a fair  
 “ Estate; was exceedingly beloved; and the eldest  
 “ Justice of Peace of that County of *Stafford*; and  
 “ though he was a very zealous Protestant, yet he  
 “ lived with so much civility and candor towards  
 “ the Catholics, that they would all trust him, as  
 “ much as they would do any of their own profession;  
 “ and that he could not think of any place of so good  
 “ repose and security for his Majesty’s repair to.”

The King liked the Proposition, yet thought not fit to surprise the Gentleman; but sent *Wilmot* thither again, to assure himself that he might be received there; and was willing that he should know what Guest he received; which hitherto was so much concealed, that none of the Houses where he had yet been, knew, or seemed to suspect more than that he was one of the King’s Party that fled from *Worcester*. The Monk carried him to a House at a reasonable distance, where he was to expect an Account from the Lord *Wilmot*; who returned very punctually, with as much assurance of welcome as he could wish. And so they two went together to Mr. *Lane*’s House; where

the King found he was welcome, and conveniently accommodated in such places, as in a large House had been provided to conceal the Persons of Malignants, or to preserve goods of value from being plundered. Here he lodged, and ate very well; and begun to hope that he was in present safety. *Wilmot* returned under the care of the Monk, and expected Summons, when any farther motion should be thought to be necessary.

The King  
 brought by  
 him to Mr.  
*Lane*’s House.

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XIII.

In this Station the King remained in quiet and blessed security many days, receiving every day information of the general consternation the Kingdom was in, out of the apprehension that his Person might fall into the hands of his Enemies, and of the great diligence they used to inquire for him. He saw the Proclamation that was issued out and printed; in which a thousand pounds were promised to any Man who would deliver and discover the Person of *Charles Stuart*, and the penalty of High-Treason declared against those who presumed to harbour or conceal him: by which he saw how much he was beholding to all those who were faithful to him. It was now time to consider how he might get near the Sea, from whence he might find some means to Transport himself: and he was now near the middle of the Kingdom, saying that it was a little more Northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the Ports, and with that Coast. In the West he was best acquainted, and that Coast was most proper to Transport him into *France*; to which he was inclined. Upon this matter he Communicated with those of this Family to whom he was known, that is, with the old Gentleman the Father, a very grave and venerable Person, the Colonel his Eldest Son, a very plain Man in his discourse and behaviour, but of a fearless Courage, and an integrity superior to any temptation, and a Daughter of the House, of a very good wit and discretion, and very fit to bear any part in such a Trust. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times, that the Affections of all Men were almost as well known as their Faces, by the discovery they had made of

themselves, in those sad Seasons, in many trials and Persecutions : so that Men knew not only the minds of their next Neighbours, and those who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their Friends, could chuse fit Houses, at any distance, to repose themselves in security, from one end of the Kingdom to another, without trusting the Hospitality of a common Inn : and Men were very rarely deceived in their confidence upon such occasions, but the Persons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another House of the same Affection.

Mr. *Lane* had a Niece, or very near Kinswoman, who was married to a Gentleman, one Mr. *Norton*, a Person of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who lived within four or five Miles of *Bristol*, which was at least four or five days journey from the place where the King then was, but a place most to be wished for the King to be in, because he did not only know all that Country very well, but knew many Persons also, to whom, in an extraordinary case, he durst make himself known. It was hereupon resolved, that Mrs. *Lane* should visit this Cousin, who was known to be of good affections: and that she should ride behind the King; who was fitted with Clothes and Boots for such a Service; and that a Servant of her Father's, in his Livery, should wait upon her. A good House was easily pitched upon for the first night's Lodging; where *Wilmot* had notice given him to meet. And in this Equipage the King begun his Journey; the Colonel keeping him Company at a distance, with a Hawk upon his fist, and two or three Spaniels; which, where there were any Fields at hand,

B O O K  
XIII.

Here it was  
resolved the  
King should  
go to Mr.  
*Norton's*;  
riding before  
Mrs. *Lane*.



**B O O K** warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his  
**XIII.** Company still in his eye, and not seeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their first Night's Lodging; and they need not now Contrive to come to their Journey's end about the close of the Evening, for it was in the Month of *October* far advanced, that the long Journies they made could not be despatched sooner. Here the Lord *Wilmot* found them; and their Journies being then adjusted, he was instructed where he should be every Night: so they were seldom seen together in the Journey, and rarely lodged in the same House at Night. In this manner the Colonel hawked two or three days, till he had brought them within less than a day's Journey of Mr. *Norton's* House; and then he gave his Hawk to the Lord *Wilmot*; who continued the Journey in the same Exercise.

There was great care taken when they came to any House, that the King might be presently carried into some Chamber; Mrs. *Lane* declaring "that he was a Neighbour's Son, whom his Father had lent her to ride before her, in hope that he would the sooner recover from a *Quartan-Ague*, with which he had been miserably afflicted, and was not yet free." And by this Artifice she caused a good bed to be still provided for him, and the best meat to be sent; which she often carried herself, to hinder others from doing it. There was no resting in any place till they came to Mr. *Norton's*, nor any thing extraordinary that happened in the way, save that they met many People every day in the way, who were very well known to the King; and the day that they went to Mr. *Norton's*, they were necessarily to ride quite through the  
 City

City of *Bristol*; a place, and People, the King had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: and when he rode near the place where the great Fort had stood, he could not forbear putting his Horse out of the way, and rode with his Mistress behind him round about it.

They came to Mr. *Norton's* House sooner than usual, and it being on a Holy-day, they saw many People about a Bowling-Green that was before the door, and the first Man the King saw was a Chaplain of his own, who was allied to the Gentleman of the House, and was sitting upon the rails to see how the Bowlers played. *William*, by which name the King went, walked with his Horse into the Stable, until his Mistress could provide for his retreat. Mrs. *Lane* was very welcome to her Cousin, and was presently conducted to her Chamber; where she no sooner was, than she lamented the condition of “a good Youth, “ who came with her, and whom she had borrowed “ of his Father to ride before her, who was very sick, “ being newly recovered of an Ague; and desired her “ Cousin, that a Chamber might be provided for “ him, and a good fire made: for that he would go “ early to bed, and was not fit to be below stairs.” A pretty little Chamber was presently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a Boy sent into the Stable to call *William*, and to show him his Chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from so much Company as was below. Mrs. *Lane* was put to find some excuse for making a visit at that time of the year, and so

They came  
safe to Mr.  
Norton's  
through  
Bristol.

**B O O K** many days Journey from her Father, and where she  
**XIII.** had never been before, though the Mistress of the  
 house and she had been bred together, and friends as  
 well as kindred. She pretended "that she was, after a  
 " little rest, to go into *Dorsetshire* to another Friend."  
 When it was supper-time, there being Broth brought  
 to the Table, Mrs. *Lane* filled a little dish, and desired  
 the Butler, who waited at the Table, "to carry that  
 " dish of Porridge to *William*, and to tell him that he  
 " should have some Meat sent to him presently." The  
 Butler carried the Porridge into the Chamber with  
 a Napkin, and Spoon, and Bread, and spoke kindly  
 to the young Man; who was willing to be eating.

The King is  
 known to the  
 Butler of the  
 House.

The Butler looking narrowly upon him, fell upon  
 his Knees, and with tears told him, "he was glad to  
 " see his Majesty." The King was infinitely surprised,  
 yet recollected himself enough to laugh at the Man,  
 to ask him "what he meant?" The Man had been  
 Falconer to Sir *Thomas Jermyn*, and made it appear  
 that he knew well enough to whom he spoke, repeat-  
 ing some particulars, which the King had not forgot.  
 Whereupon the King conjured him "not to speak of  
 " what he knew, so much as to his Master, though  
 " he believed him a very honest Man." The fellow  
 promised, and kept his word; and the King was the  
 better waited upon during the time of his abode there.

Dr. *Gorges*, the King's Chaplain, being a Gentleman  
 of good Family near that place, and allied to Mr.  
*Norton*, supped with them, and being a Man of a  
 cheerful Conversation, asked Mrs. *Lane* many ques-  
 tions concerning *William*, of whom he saw she was  
 so careful by sending up Meat to him "how long his

“ Ague had been gone? and whether he had purged  
 “ since it left him? and the like;” to which she gave  
 such Answers as occurred. The Doctor, from the great  
 prevalence of the Parliament, had, as many others of  
 that function had done, declined his Profession, and  
 pretended to study Physic. As soon as Supper was  
 done, out of good Nature, and without telling any  
 Body, he went to see *William*. The King saw him  
 coming into the Chamber, and withdrew to the inside  
 of the bed, that he might be farthest from the Candle,  
 and the Doctor came, and sat down by him, felt his  
 pulse, and asked him many questions, which he an-  
 swered in as few words as was possible, and expressing  
 great inclination to go to his bed; to which the Doctor  
 left him, and went to Mrs. *Lane*, and told her, “ that  
 “ he had been with *William*, and that he would do  
 “ well;” and advised her what she should do if his  
 Ague returned. The next Morning, the Doctor went  
 away, so that the King saw him no more. The next  
 day the Lord *Wilmot* came to the House with his  
 Hawk, to see Mrs. *Lane*, and so conferred with  
*William*; who was to consider what he was to do.  
 They thought it necessary to rest some days, till they  
 were informed what Port lay most convenient for  
 them, and what Person lived nearest to it, upon whose  
 fidelity they might rely: and the King gave him  
 directions to inquire after some Persons, and some  
 other particulars, of which when he should be fully  
 instructed, he should return again to him. In the mean  
 time, *Wilmot* lodged at a House not far from Mr.  
*Norton's*, to which he had been recommended.

After some days stay here, and Communication



B O O K XIII. between the King and the Lord *Wilmot* by Letters, the King came to know that Colonel *Francis Windham* lived within little more than a day's Journey of the place where he was; of which he was very glad; for besides the inclination he had to his elder Brother, whose Wife had been his Nurse, this Gentleman had behaved himself very well during the War, and had been Governor of *Dunstar* - Castle, where the King had lodged when he was in the West. After the end of the War, and when all other places were Surrendered in that County, He likewise Surrendered That, upon fair Conditions, and made his Peace, and afterwards married a Wife with a competent Fortune, and lived quietly, without any suspicion of having lessened his affection towards the King.

The King sent *Wilmot* to him, and acquainted him where he was, and "that he would gladly speak with him." It was not hard for him to chuse a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed. After the King had taken his leave of Mrs. *Lane*, who remained with her Cousin *Norton*, the King, and the Lord *Wilmot*, met the Colonel; and, in the way, he met in a Town, through which they passed, Mr. *Kirton*, a Servant of the King's, who well knew the Lord *Wilmot*, who had no other disguise than the Hawk, but took no Notice of him, nor suspected the King to be there; yet that day made the King more wary of having him in his Company upon the Way. At the place of meeting, they rested only one Night, and then the King went to the Colonel's House; where he rested many days, whilst the Colonel projected at what place the King might Embark, and how

The King  
goes to Colonel  
Francis  
Windham's  
House.

they might procure a Vessel to be ready there; which was not easy to find; there being so great a fear possessing those who were honest, that it was hard to procure any Vessel that was outward-bound to take in any Passenger.

There was a Gentleman, one Mr. *Ellison*, who lived near *Lyme* in *Dorset-shire*, and was well known to Colonel *Windham*, having been a Captain in the King's Army, and was still looked upon as a very honest Man. With him the Colonel consulted, how they might get a Vessel to be ready to take in a couple of Gentlemen, friends of his, who were in danger to be arrested, and Transport them into *France*. Though no Man would ask who the Persons were, yet it could not but be suspected who they were, at least they concluded, that it was some of *Worcester-Party*. *Lyme* was generally as malicious and disaffected a Town to the King's Interest, as any Town in *England* could be: yet there was in it a Master of a Bark of whose honesty this Captain was very confident. This Man was lately returned from *France*, and had unladen his Vessel, when *Ellison* asked him, "when he would make another Voyage?" and he answered, "as soon as he could get Lading for his Ship." The other asked, "whether he would undertake to carry over a couple of Gentlemen, and land them in *France*, if he might be as well paid for his Voyage as he used to be when he was freighted by the Merchants. In conclusion he told him, he should receive fifty pounds for his Fare:" the large recompence had that effect, that the Man undertook it; though he said "he must make his provision very secretly; for that he might

B O O K

XIII.

“ be well suspected for going to Sea again without being freighted, after he was so newly returned.” Colonel *Windham*, being advertised of this, came together with the Lord *Wilmot* to the Captain’s House, from whence the Lord and the Captain rid to a House near *Lyme*; where the Master of the Bark met them; and the Lord *Wilmot* being satisfied with the discourse of the Man, and his wariness in foreseeing Suspitions, which would arise, it was resolved that on such a Night which, upon consideration of the Tides, was agreed upon, the Man should draw out his Vessel from the Peer, and, being at Sea, should come to such a point about a Mile from the Town, where his Shi should remain upon the Beach when the Water was gone; which would take it off again about break of day the next Morning. There was very near that point, even in the view of it, a small Inn, kept by a Man who was reputed honest, to which the Cavaliers of the Country often resorted; and *London-road* passed that way; so that it was seldom without Company. Into that Inn the two Gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the Night, that they might put themselves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earnest given to the Master, the Lord *Wilmot* and the Colonel returned to the Colonel’s House, above a day’s Journey from the place. the Captain undertaking every day to look that the Master should provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the Colonel notice at such a place, where they intended the King should be the day before he was to Embark.

Thence he is

The King, being satisfied with these preparations,

came, at the time appointed, to that House where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he received assurance from the Captain; who found that the Man had honestly put his Provisions on Board, and had his Company ready, which were but four Men; and that the Vessel should be drawn out that Night: so that it was fit for the two Persons to come to the aforesaid Inn, and the Captain conducted them within sight of it; and then went to his own House, not distant a mile from it; the Colonel remaining still at the House where they had lodged the Night before, till he might hear the news of their being Embarked.

**B O O K**  
**XIII.**

brought to an  
Inn near  
Lyme; and  
a Ship hired  
by Captain  
Ellison.

They found many Passengers in the Inn; and so were to be contented with an ordinary Chamber, which they did not intend to sleep long in. But as soon as there appeared any light, *Wilmot* went out to discover the Bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the Sun arose, and nothing like a Ship in view. They sent to the Captain, who was as much amazed; and He sent to the Town; and his Servant could not find the Master of the Bark, which was still in the Peer. They suspected the Captain, and the Captain suspected the Master. However; it being past ten of the Clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to stay longer there, and so they mounted their Horses again to return to the House where they had left the Colonel, who, they knew, resolved to stay there till he were assured that they were gone.

The Ship  
sailed by an  
accident; and  
the King left  
the Inn.

The truth of the disappointment was this; the Man meant honestly, and made all things ready for his departure; and the Night he was to go out with his



B O O K  
XIII.

Vessel, he had stayed in his own House, and slept two or three hours, and the time of the Tide being come, that it was necessary to be on Board he took out of a Cupboard some Linen, and other things, which he used to carry with him to Sea. His Wife had observed, that he had been for some days fuller of thoughts than he used to be, and that he had been speaking with Seamen, who used to go with him, and that some of them had carried provisions on Board the Bark; of which she had asked her Husband the reason; who had told her, "that he was promised freight speedily, and therefore he would make all things ready." She was sure that there was yet no lading in the Ship, and therefore, when she saw her Husband take all those Materials with him, which 'was a sure sign that he meant to go to Sea, and it being late in the Night, she shut the door, and swore he should not go out of his House. He told her, "he must go, and was engaged to go to Sea that Night; for which he should be well paid." His Wife told him, "she was sure he was doing somewhat that would undo him, and she was resolved he should not go out of his House; and if he should persist in it, she would tell the Neighbours, and carry him before the Mayor to be examined, that the truth might be found out." The poor Man, thus Mastered by the passion and violence of his Wife, was forced to yield to her, that there might be no farther noise; and so went into his bed.

And it was very happy that the King's jealousy hastened him from that Inn. It was the solemn Fast-Day, which was observed in those times principally to enflame the People against the King, and all those

who were Loyal to him, and there was a Chapel in that Village over against that Inn, where a Weaver, who had been a Soldier, used to Preach, and utter all the Villany imaginable against the old Order of Government: and he was then in the Chapel Preaching to his Congregation, when the King went from thence, and telling the People "that *Charles Stuart* was lurking somewhere in that "Country, and that they would "merit from God Almighty, if they could find him "out." The Passengers, who had lodged in the Inn that Night, had, as soon as they were up, sent for a Smith to visit their Horses, it being a hard Frost. The Smith, when he had done what he was sent for, according to the custom of that People, examined the feet of the other two Horses to find more work. When he had observed them, he told the Host of the House, "that one of those Horses had travelled far; and that "he was sure that his four Shoes had been made in "four several Counties;" which, whether his skill was able to discover or no, was very true. The Smith going to the Sermon told this story to some of his Neighbours; and so it came to the Ears of the Preacher, when his Sermon was done. Immediately he sent for an Officer, and searched the Inn, and inquired for those Horses; and being informed that they were gone, he caused Horses to be sent to follow them, and to make inquiry after the two Men who rid those Horses, and positively declared "that one of them was "*Charles Stuart*."

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XIII.  
Like to be  
discovered by  
a Smith  
shooing their  
Horses.

When they came again to the Colonel, they presently concluded that they were to make no longer stay in those parts, nor any more to endeavour to find

**B O O K** XIII. a Ship upon that Coast; and without any farther delay, they rode back to the Colonel's House; where they arrived in the night. Then they resolved to make their next attempt in *Hampshire*, and *Suffex*. where Colonel *Windham* had no Interest. They must pass through all *Wiltshire* before they came thither; which would require many days Journey: and they were first to consider what honest Houses there were in or near the way, where they might securely repose; and it was thought very dangerous for the King to ride through any great Town as *Salisbury*, or *Winchester*, which might probably lie in their way.

The King goes  
back to the  
Colonel's  
House.

There was between that and *Salisbury* a very honest Gentleman, Colonel *Robert Philips*, a younger Brother of a very good Family, which had always been very Loyal; and he had served the King during the War. The King was resolved to trust him; and so sent the Lord *Wilmot* to a place from whence he might send to Mr. *Philips* to come to him, and when he had spoken with him, Mr. *Philips* should come to the King, and *Wilmot* was to stay in such a place as they two should agree. Mr. *Philips* accordingly came to the Colonel's House; which he could do without suspicion, they being nearly allied. The ways were very full of Soldiers; which were sent now from the Army to their Quarters, and many Regiments of Horse and Foot were assigned for the West; of which division *Desborough* was Commander in chief. These marches were like to last for many days, and it would not be fit for the King to stay so long in that place. Thereupon, he resorted to his old Security of taking a Woman behind him, a Kinswoman of Colonel

The King  
sends *Wilmot*  
for Robert  
*Philips*.

*Windham*, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from *Salisbury*; to which Colonel *Philips* conducted him. In this Journey he passed through the middle of a Regiment of Horse; and presently after, met *Desborough* walking down a Hill three or four Men with him; who had lodged in *Salisbury* the night before; all that Road being full of Soldiers.

The next day, upon the Plains, Dr. *Hinchman*, one of the Prebends of *Salisbury*, met the King, the Lord *Wilmot* and *Philips* then leaving him to go to the Sea-Coast to find a Vessel, the Dr. conducting the King to a place called *Heale*, three miles from *Salisbury*, belonging then to Serjeant *Hyde*, who was afterwards Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, and then in the possession of the Widow of his elder Brother; a House that stood alone from Neighbours, and from any high-way; where coming in late in the Evening, he supped with some Gentlemen who accidentally were in the House; which could not well be avoided. But, the next Morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his Journey; and the Widow, being trusted with the knowledge of her Guest, sent her Servants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, received him again, and accommodated him in a little Room, which had been made since the beginning of the Troubles for the concealment of Delinquents, the Seat always belonging to a Malignant Family.

Here he lay concealed. without the knowledge of some Gentlemen, who lived in the House, and of others who daily resorted thither, for many days, the Widow herself only attending him with such things as were necessary, and bringing him such Letters as

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XIII.

Dr. Hinchman  
meets the  
King on the  
Plains; and  
conducts him  
to Heale Mrs.  
Hyde's House.



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XIII.

Thence to a  
house in *Suffex*  
near *Bright-*  
*hemsted* ;  
where a Bark  
was provided  
by Colonel  
*Gunter*.

He arrives in  
*Normandy*  
in a small  
Creek in  
Novemb.

the Doctor received from the Lord *Wilmot*, and Colonel *Philips*. A Vessel being at last provided upon the coast of *Suffex*, and notice thereof sent to Dr. *Hinchman*, he sent to the King to meet him at *Stone-henge* upon the Plains three Miles from *Heale*; whither the Widow took care to direct him; and being there met, he attended him to the place where Colonel *Philips* received him. He, the next day, delivered him to the Lord *Wilmot*; who went with him to a House in *Suffex*, recommended by Colonel *Gunter*, a Gentleman of that Country, who had served the King in the War; who met him there; and had provided a little Bark at *Bright-hemsted*, a small Fisher-Town; where he went early on Board, and by God's Blessing; arrived safely in *Normandy*.

The Earl of *Southampton*, who was then at his House at *Titchfield* in *Hampshire*, had been advertised of the King's being in the West, and of his missing his passage at *Lyme*, and sent a trusty Gentleman to those faithful Persons in the Country, who, he thought, were most like to be employed for his Escape if he came into those parts, to let them know, "that he  
" had a Ship ready, and, if the King came to him, he  
" should be safe;" which advertisement came to the King the Night before he Embarked, and when his Vessel was ready. But his Majesty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindness, he being the only Person of that Condition, who had the Courage to solicit such danger, though all good Men heartily wished his deliverance. It was in *November*, that the King landed in *Normandy*, in a small Creek; from whence he got to *Rouen*, and then gave notice to the

Queen of his arrival, and freed his Loyal Subjects in all places from their dismal Apprehensions.

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Though this wonderful deliverance and preservation of the Person of the King, was an Argument of general Joy and Comfort to all his good Subjects, and a new seed of hope for future Blessings, yet his present Condition was very deplorable. *France* was not at all pleased with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The Queen his Mother was very glad of his Escape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his Support; they who had Interest with her, finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited Expence. Besides, the distraction that Court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her Pension to be paid with less punctuality than it had used to be; so that she was forced to be in debt both to her Servants, and for the very Provisions of her House; nor had the King one shilling towards the Support of Himself, and his Family.

As soon as his Majesty came to *Paris*, and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at *Antwerp*, he commanded *Seymour*, who was of his Bed-Chamber, to send to him to repair thither; which whilst he was providing to do, Mr. *Long*, the King's Secretary, who was at *Amsterdam*, and had been removed from his Attendance in *Scotland* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, writ to the Chancellor, "that he had received  
" a Letter from the King, by which he was required  
" to let all his Majesty's Servants who were in those  
" parts, know, it was his pleasure that none of them  
" should repair to him to *Paris*, until they should

The King sends to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repair to him at Paris.

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XIII.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to him in Christmas at Paris.

Where he receives from the King this Account of his Majesty's Deliverance.

" receive farther order, since his Majesty could not yet resolve how long he should stay there: of which," Mr. Long said, " he thought it his duty to give him notice; with this, that the Lord Colpepper and himself, who had resolved to have made haste thither, had in obedience to this command laid aside that purpose." The Chancellor concluded that this inhibition concerned not Him, since he had received a command from the King to wait upon him. Besides, he had still the Character of Ambassador upon him which he could not lay down till he had kissed his Majesty's hand. So he pursued his former purpose, and came to *Paris* in the *Christmas*, and found that the command to Mr. Long had been procured with an eye principally upon the Chancellor, there being some there who had no mind he should be with the King; though, when there was no remedy, the Queen received him graciously. But the King was very well pleased with his being come; and, for the first four or five days, he spent many hours with him in private, and informed him of very many particulars, of the harsh treatment he had received in *Scotland*, the reason of his march into *England*, the confusion at *Worcester*, and all the circumstances of his happy escape and deliverance; many parts whereof are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly true. For besides all those particulars which the King himself was pleased to Communicate to him, so soon after the Transactions of them, when they had made so lively an impression in his memory, and of which the Chancellor at that time kept a very punctual Memorial; he had, at the same time, the daily con-

versation of the Lord *Wilmot*; who informed him of all he could remember: and sometimes the King and He recollected many particulars in the discourse together, in which the King's memory was much better than the other's. And after the King's blessed return into *England*, he had frequent conferences with many of those who had acted several parts towards the Escape; whereof some were of the Chancellor's nearest Alliance, and others his most intimate Friends; towards whom his Majesty always made many gracious expressions of his acknowledgment: so that there is nothing in this short relation the verity whereof can justly be suspected, though, as is said before, it is great pity, that there could be no Diary made, indeed no exact Account of every Hour's adventure from the coming out of *Worcester*, in that dismal confusion, to the hour of his Embarkation at *Brightemsted*; in which there was such a concurrence of good-nature-charity, and generosity, in Persons of the meanest and lowest extraction and condition, who did not know the value of the precious Jewel that was in their Custody, yet all knew him to be escaped from such an Action as would make the discovery and delivery of him to those who governed over and amongst them, of great benefit, and present advantage to them; and in those who did know him, of such Courage, Loyalty, and Activity, that all may reasonably look upon the whole, as the inspiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifestation of his Power and Glory, and for the conviction of the whole Party, which had sinned so grievously; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath rendered them the more inexcusable.



## BOOK

## XIII.

As the greatest Brunt of the danger was diverted by these poor People, in his Night-marches on foot, with so much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his Life, before he fell into the hands of Persons of better Quality, and places of more conveniency. so he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of some Ecclesiastical Persons of the Romish persuasion; especially to those of the Order of *St. Bennet*; which was the reason that he expressed more favors, after his Restoration, to that Order than to any other, and granted them some extraordinary Privileges about the Service of the Queen, not concealing the reason why he did so; which ought to have satisfied all Men, that his Majesty's indulgence towards all of that profession, by restraining the severity and rigor of the Laws which had been formerly made against them, had its rise from a Fountain of Princely justice and gratitude, and of Royal bounty and clemency.

The Affairs of  
Ireland at this  
time.

Whilst the Counsels and Enterprises in *Scotland* and *England*, had this woeful issue, *Ireland* had no better Success in its Undertakings. *Cromwell* had made so great a Progress in his Conquests, before he left that Kingdom to visit *Scotland*, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely possessed of the two most valuable, and best inhabited Provinces, *Leinster*, and *Munster*; and plainly discerned, that what remained to be done, if dexterously conducted, would be with most ease brought to pass by the folly, and perfidiousness of the *Irish* themselves; who would save their Enemies a labor, in contributing to, and hastening their own destruction. He had made the  
Bridge

Bridge fair, easy, and safe for them to pass over into foreign Countries, by Levies and Transportations, which liberty they embraced, as hath been said before, with all imaginable greediness: and he had entertained Agents, and Spies, as well Friars, as others amongst the *Irish*, who did not only give him timely advertisements of what was concluded to be done, but had interest and power enough to interrupt, and disturb the consultations, and to obstruct the execution thereof: and having put all things in this hopeful Method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more use of the Halter than the Sword, he committed the managing of the rest, and the Government of the Kingdom, to his Son in Law *Ireton*; whom he made Deputy under him of *Ireland*: a Man, who knew the bottom of all his Counsels and Purposes, and was of the same, or a greater pride and fierceness in his Nature, and most inclined to pursue those Rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And He, without fighting a Battle, though he lived not many Months after, reduced most of the rest that *Cromwell* left unfinished.

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XIII.

*Ireton* made  
Lord Deputy  
by *Cromwell*.

The Marquis of *Ormond* knew, and understood well the desperate condition and state he was in, when he had no other strength and power to depend upon, than that of the *Irish*, for the support of the King's Authority: yet there were many of the Nobility, and principal Gentry of the *Irish*, in whose Loyalty towards the King, and Affection and Friendship towards his own Person, he had justly all confidence; and there were amongst the Romish Clergy some moderate Men, who did detest the savage

The Marquis  
of *Ormond*'s  
condition  
there.

**B O O K** XIII. ignorance of the rest: so that he entertained still some hope, that the Wiser would by degrees convert the weaker, and that they would all understand how inseparable their own preservation and interest was from the support of the King's Dignity and Authority. and that the wonderful Judgments of God, which were every day executed by *Ireton* upon the principal, and most obstinate Contrivers of their odious Rebellion, and who perversely and peevishly opposed their return to their obedience to the King, as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their Sottish Lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their Nation. For there was scarce a Man, whose bloody and brutish behaviour in the beginning of the Rebellion, or whose barbarous Violation of the Peace that had been consented to, had exempted them from the King's mercy, and left them only Subjects of his Justice, as soon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by *Ireton*, and hanged with all the circumstances of Severity that was due to their wickedness; of which innumerable Examples might be given.

There yet remained free from *Cromwell's* Yoke, the two large Provinces of *Connaught* and of *Ulster*, and the two strong Cities of *Limrick* and of *Galloway*, both Garrisoned with *Irish*, and excellently supplied with all things necessary for their defence, and many other good Port-Towns, and other strong places; all which pretended and professed to be for the King, and to yield obedience to the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Majesty's Lieutenant. And there were still many good Regiments of Horse and Foot together under

*Preston*, who seemed to be ready to perform any Service the Marquis should require: so that he did reasonably hope, that by complying with some of their humors, by Sacrificing somewhat of his Honor, and much of his Authority, to their jealousy and peevishness, he should be able to draw such a strength together, as would give a stop to *Ireton's* Career. *O Neile* at this time, after he had been so baffled and affronted by the Parliament, and after he had seen his bosom-Friend, and sole Counsellor, the Bishop of *Clogher* (who had managed the Treaty with *Monk*, and was taken Prisoner upon the defeat of his Forces) hanged, drawn, and quartered as a Traytor, sent "to offer his Service to the Marquis of *Ormond* with the Army under his Command, upon such conditions as the Marquis thought fit to send to him;" and it was reasonably believed that he did intend very sincerely and would have done very good Service; for he was the best Soldier of the Nation, and had the most command over his Men, and was best obeyed by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant, he fell sick; and, in a few days, died: so that that Treaty produced no effect; for though many of his Army prosecuted his resolution, and joined with the Marquis of *Ormond*, yet their Officers had little power over their Soldiers; who, being all of the old *Irish* Septs of *Ulster*, were entirely governed by the Friars, and were shortly after prevailed upon, either to Transport themselves, or to retire to their Bogs, and prey for themselves upon all they met, without distinction of Persons or Interest.

Owen Row  
O Neile died,  
as he was  
going to join  
with the  
Marquis of  
*Ormond*.



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The Marquis' Orders for drawing the Troops together to any Rendezvous, were totally neglected and disobeyed; and the Commissioners Orders for the collection of Money, and contribution in such proportions as had been settled and agreed unto, were as much contemned: so that such Regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were as soon dissolved for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or else dispersed by the power of the Friars; as in the City of *Limrick*, when the Marquis was there, and had appointed several Companies to be drawn into the Market-place, to be employed upon a present Expedition. an Officer of good Affections, and thought to have much credit with his Soldiers, brought with him two hundred very likely Soldiers well armed, and disciplined, and having received his Orders from the Marquis (who was upon the place) begun to march; when a Franciscan Friar in his habit, and with a Crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the Company, and commanded them all, "upon pain of damnation, that they should not march:" upon which they all threw down their Arms, and did as the Friar directed them; who put the whole City into a Mutiny: insomuch as the Lord Lieutenant was compelled to go out of it, and not without some difficulty escaped; though most of the Magistrates of the City did all that was in their power to suppress the disorder, and to reduce the People to obedience; and some of them were killed, and many wounded in the Attempt. As an Instance of those judgments from Heaven which we lately mentioned in general, *Patrick Fanning*, who with

A Mutiny  
in *Limrick*,  
whence the  
Marquis  
of Ormond  
escaped.

the Friar had the principal part in that Sedition, the very next Night after *Ireton* was possessed of that strong City, was apprehended, and the next day hanged, drawn, and quartered. Such of the Commissioners as adhered firmly to the Lord Lieutenant, in using all their power to advance the King's Service, and to reduce their miserable Country-men from effecting, and contriving their own destruction, were without any credit, and all their Warrants and Summons neglected; when the others, who declined the Service, and desired to obstruct it, had all respect and submission paid to them.

They who appeared, after the first misfortune before *Dublin*, to corrupt, and mislead, and dishearten the People, were the Friars, and some of their inferior Clergy. But now the titular Bishops, who had been all made at *Rome* since the beginning of the Rebellion, appeared more active than the other. They called an Assembly of the Bishops (every one of which had signed the Articles of the Peace) and chose some of their Clergy as a Representative of their Church to meet at *James-Town*; where, under the pretence of providing for the security of Religion, they examined the whole proceedings of the War, and how the Monies which had been collected, had been issued out. They called the giving up the Towns in *Munster* by the Lord *Inchiquin's* Officers, "the Conspiracy and Treachery of all the *English*, out of their malice to the Catholic-Religion;" and thereupon pressed the Lord Lieutenant to dismiss all the *English* Gentlemen who yet remained with him. They called every unprosperous Accident that had

The Popish Bishop make an Assembly, and publish a Declaration against the English.

O O R fallen out, "a foul Miscarriage; and published a  
 XIII. Declaration full of libellous Invectives against the  
*English*, without sparing the Person of the Lord Lieu-  
 tenant; who, they said, "being of a contrary Reli-  
 "gion, and a known inveterate Enemy to the Catho-  
 "lic, was not fit to be intrusted with the conduct of  
 "a War that was raised for the support, and prefer-  
 "vation of it;" and shortly after sent an Address to  
 the Lord Lieutenant himself, in which they told him,  
 "that the People were so far unsatisfied with his con-  
 "duct, especially for his aversion from the Catholic  
 "Religion, and his favoring Heretics, that they  
 "were unanimously resolved, as one Man, not to  
 "submit any longer to his Command, nor to raise  
 "any more Money, or Men, to be applied to the  
 "King's Service under his Authority. But, on the  
 "other side, they assured him, that their Duty and  
 "Zeal was so entire, and real for the King, and their  
 "Resolution so absolute never to withdraw them-  
 "selves from his Obedience, that, if he would de-  
 "part the Kingdom, and commit the Command  
 "thereof into the hands of any Person of Honor of  
 "the Catholic Religion, he would thereby unite the  
 "whole Nation to the King; and they would imme-  
 "diately raise an Army that should drive *Ireton*  
 "quickly again into *Dublin*;" and that the Lord  
 Lieutenant might know that they would not depart  
 from this determination, they published soon after an  
 Excommunication against all Persons who should  
 obey any of the Lieutenant's Orders, or raise Money  
 or Men by virtue of his Authority.

During all these Agitations, many of the Roman-

Catholic Nobility, and other Persons of the best Quality, remained very faithful to the Lord Lieutenant; and cordially interposed with the Popish Bishops to prevent their violent proceedings; but had not power either to persuade, or restrain them. The Lord Lieutenant had no reason to be delighted with his empty Title to Command a People who would not Obey, and knew the daily danger he was in, of being betrayed, and delivered into the hands of *Ireton*, or being Assassinated in his own Quarters. And though he did not believe that the *Irish* would behave themselves with more Fidelity, and Courage for the King's Interest, when he should be gone; well knowing that their Bishops and Clergy designed nothing but to put themselves under the Government of some Popish Prince, and had at that time sent Agents into Foreign Parts for that purpose; yet he knew likewise that there were in truth Men enough, and Arms, and all Provisions for the carrying on the War, who, if they were united, and heartily resolved to preserve themselves, would be much superior in number to any power *Ireton* could bring against them. He knew likewise, that he could safely deposite the King's Authority in the hands of a Person of unquestionable Fidelity, whom the King would, without any scruple, trust, and whom the *Irish* could not except against, being of their own Nation, of the greatest Fortune and Interest amongst them, and of the most eminent Constancy to the Roman-Catholic Religion of any Man in the three Kingdoms; and that was the Marquis of *Clanricard*. And therefore, since it was to no purpose to stay longer there himself,



O O K and it was in his power safely to make the experiment,  
 XIII. whether the *Irish* would in truth perform what was  
 in their power to perform, and which they so so-  
 lemnly promised to do, he thought he should be  
 inexcusable to the King, if he should not consent to  
 that Expedient. The great difficulty was to persuade  
 the Marquis of *Clanricard* to accept the trust, who  
 was a Man, though of an unquestionable Courage,  
 yet, of an infirm Health; and loved, and enjoyed  
 great ease throughout his whole Life; and of a Con-  
 stitution not equal to the fatigue, and distresses, that  
 the conducting such a War must subject him to. He  
 knew well, and exceedingly detested, the levity,  
 inconstancy, and infidelity of his Country-men: nor  
 did he in any degree like the presumption of the  
 Popish Bishops, and Clergy, and the Exorbitant  
 Power which they had assumed, and usurped to  
 themselves; and therefore he had no mind to engage  
 himself in such a Command. But by the extraordinary  
 importunity of the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom  
 he had preserved a fast and unshaken Friendship, and  
 his pressing him to preserve *Ireland* to the King, with-  
 out which it would throw itself into the Arms of a  
 Foreigner: and then the same importunity from all  
 the *Irish* Nobility, Bishops, and Clergy (after the  
 Lord Lieutenant had informed them of his purpose)  
 “ that he would preserve his Nation, which, with-  
 “ out his Acceptance of their Protection, would in-  
 “ fallibly be extirpated,” and their joint promise  
 “ that they would absolutely submit to all his Com-  
 “ mands, and hold no assembly, or meeting amongst  
 “ themselves, without his Permission and Commis-

“ fion,” together with his unquestionable defire to do any thing, how contrary foever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the King, and might poffibly bring fome advantage to his Majesty’s Service, he was in the end prevailed upon to receive a Commiffion from the Lord Lieutenant to be Deputy of *Ireland*, and undertook that Charge.

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The Marquis  
of Ormond  
makes the  
Marquis of  
Clanricard  
his Deputy.

How well they complied afterwards with their promifes, and proteftations, and how much better Subjects they proved to be under their Catholic Governor, than they had been under their Proteftant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the Marquis of *Ormond* would not receive a Pafs from *Ireton*, who would willingly have granted it. as he did to all the *English* Officers that defired it; but Embarked himfelf, with fome few Gentlemen befides his own Servants, in a fmall Frigate, and arrived fafely in *Normandy*; and fo went to *Caen*; where his Wife and Family had remained from the time of his departure thence. This was fhortly after the King’s defeat at *Worcefter*, and, as foon as his Majesty arrived at *Paris*, he forthwith attended him, and was moft welcome to him.

The Marquis  
of Ormond  
embarks for  
France, and  
waits on the  
King at *Paris*  
after his Ma-  
jesty’s efcape  
from *Wor-  
cefter*.

*Scotland* being fubdued, and *Ireland* reduced to that Obedience as the Parliament could wifh, nothing could be expected to be done in *England* for the King’s advantage. From the time that *Cromwell* was chofen General in the place of *Fairfax*, he took all occafions to difcountenance the Prefbyterians, and to put them out of all Truft and Employment, as well in the Country as in the Army; and, whilft he was

**B O O K** in *Scotland*, he had intercepted some Letters from one  
**XIII.** *Love*, a Presbyterian Minister in *London* (a fellow  
 who hath been mentioned before, in the time the  
 Treaty was at *Uxbridge*, for Preaching against Peace)  
 to a leading Preacher in *Scotland*; and sent such an  
 information against him, with so many successive  
 Instances that Justice might be exemplarily done  
 upon him, that, in spite of all the opposition which  
 the Presbyterians could make, who appeared pub-  
 licly with their utmost power, the Man was Con-  
 demned and Executed upon *Tower-hill*. And to show  
 their impartiality, about the same time they Execu-  
 ted *Brown Bushel*, who had formerly served the  
 Parliament in the beginning of the Rebellion, and  
 shortly after served the King to the end of the War,  
 and had lived some years in *England* after the War  
 expired, untaken notice of, but, upon this occasion,  
 was enviously discovered, and put to death.

*Love, a  
 Presbyterian  
 Minister,  
 executed.*

It is a wonderful thing what operations this Pres-  
 byterian Spirit had upon the minds of those who were  
 possessed by it. This poor Man *Love*, who had been  
 guilty of as much Treason against the King, from the  
 beginning of the Rebellion, as the Pulpit could con-  
 tain, was so much without remorse for any wicked-  
 ness of that kind that he had committed, that he was  
 jealous of nothing so much, as of being suspected to  
 repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his  
 Affection to the King. And therefore when he was  
 upon the Scaffold, where he appeared with a mar-  
 vellous undauntedness, he seemed so much delighted  
 with the memory of all that he had done against the  
 late King, and against the Bishops, that he could not

even then forbear to speak with Animosity and Bitterness against both, and expressed great satisfaction in mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a Martyr, and to give testimony for the Covenant; "whatsoever he had done being in the pursuit of the ends," he said, "of that Sanctified Obligation to which he was in and by his Conscience engaged." And in this raving fit, without so much as praying for the King, otherwise than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his Head upon the block with as much Courage as the bravest, and honestest Man could do in the most Pious occasion.

When *Cromwell* returned to *London*, he caused several High-Courts of Justice to be erected, by which many Gentlemen of Quality were Condemned, and Executed in many parts of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*, who had been taken Prisoners at *Worcester*, or discovered to have been there. And that the Terror might be universal, some suffered for loose discourses in Taverns, what they would do towards Restoring the King, and others for having blank Commissions found in their hands signed by the King, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appeared, intended to do. And under these desolate apprehensions all the Royal and Loyal Party lay groveling, and prostrate, after the defeat of *Worcester*.

*Cromwell*  
causes several  
High Courts  
of Justice to  
be erected.

There was at this time with the King the Marquis of *Ormond*; who came thither before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though his Majesty was now in



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The King's  
necessities at  
Paris.

unquestionable safety, the straits and necessities he was in were as unquestionable; which exposed him to all the troubles and uneasiness that the Masters of very indigent Families are subjected to; and the more because all Men considered only his Dignity, and not his Fortune: so that Men had the same Emulations, and Ambitions, as if the King had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good Argument for them to ask, because he had nothing to give; and asked very improper Reversions, because he could not grant the Possession; and were solicitous for Honors, which he had power to grant, because he had not Fortunes to give them.

The friendship  
between the  
Marquis of Or-  
mond and the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer.

There had been a great acquaintance between the Marquis of *Ormond*, when he was Lord *Thurles*, in the life of his Grand-father, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was renewed, by a mutual correspondence, when they both came to have shares in the public business, the one in *Ireland*, and the other in *England*: so that when they now met at *Paris*, they met as old Friends, and quickly understood each other so well, that there could not be a more entire confidence between Men. The Marquis consulted with him in his nearest concerns, and the Chancellor esteemed, and cultivated the Friendship with all possible industry and application. The King was abundantly satisfied in the Friendship they had for each other, and trusted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavoured by Persons of no ordinary Account, to break or interrupt that mutual confidence between them, during the whole time the King remained beyond the

Seas; whereby the King's perplexed Affairs were carried on with the less trouble. And the Chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this Friendship was so great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the King's business which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the Trust.

Besides the wants and necessities which the King was pressed with in respect of himself, who had nothing, but was obliged to find himself by credit in Clothes, and all other necessaries for his Person, and of his Family, which he saw reduced to all extremities; he was much disquieted by the necessities in his Brother the Duke of York's Family, and by the disorder and faction in it. The Queen complained heavily of Sir *George Ratcliff*, and the Attorney; and more of the first, because that he pretended to some Right of being of the Duke's Family by a Grant of the late King; which his present Majesty determined against him; and reprehended his Activity in the last Summer. Sir *John Berkeley* had most of the Queen's favor; and though he had at that time no Interest in the Duke's Affection, he found a way to ingratiate himself with his Royal Highness, by insinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foresaw advantage to himself. Though no Man acted the Governor's part more Imperiously than He had done whilst the Lord *Byron* was absent, finding that he himself was liable in some degree to be governed upon that Lord's return, he had used all the ways he could, that the Duke might be exempted from any Subjection to a Governor, presuming, that, when that Title should

The necessities  
and factions of  
the Duke of  
York's Family.

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be extinguished, he should be possessed of some such Office and Relation, as should not be under the Control of any but the Duke himself. But he had not yet been able to bring that to pass; which was the reason that he stayed at *Paris* when his Highness visited *Flanders* and *Holland*. Now he took advantage of the Activity of the Duke's Spirit, and infused into him, "that it would be for his Honor to put himself into "Action, and not to be learning his Exercises in *Paris* " whilst the Army was in the Field:" a Proposition first intimated by the Cardinal, "that the Duke was " now of years to learn his *métier*, and had now the " opportunity to improve himself, by being in the " care of a General reputed equal to any Captain in " *Christendom*, with whom he might learn that Ex- " perience, and make those Observations, as might " enable him to serve the King his Brother, who must " hope to recover his Right only by the Sword." This the Cardinal had said both to the Queen, and to the Lord *Jermyn*, whilst the King was in *Scotland*, when no Man had the hardiness to advise it in that conjuncture. But, after the King's Return from *England*, there wanted nothing but the Approbation of his Majesty; and no Man more desired it than the Lord *Byron*, who had had good Command, and preferred that kind of Life before that which he was obliged to live in at *Paris*. There was no need of Spurs to be employed to incite the Duke; who was most impatient to be in the Army. And therefore Sir *John Berkeley* could not any other way make himself so grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the Duke, "that whosoever opposed

“ it, and dissuaded the King from giving his consent,  
“ was an Enemy to his Highness’ Glory, and desired  
“ that he should live always in Pupilage;” not omit-  
ting to put him in mind, “ that his very entrance into  
“ the Army set him at Liberty, and put him into his  
“ own disposal; since no Man went into the Field  
“ under the direction of a Governor;” still endeavouring to improve his prejudice against those who should either dissuade him from pursuing that Resolution, or endeavour to persuade the King not to approve it; “ which, he told him, could proceed from  
“ nothing but want of Affection to his Person.” By this means he hoped to raise a notable dislike in him of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he believed, did not like the design, because he having spoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an Argument that pleased him.

The Duke pressed it with earnestness and passion, in which he dissembled not; and found the Queen, as well as the King, very reserved in the point; which proceeded from their tenderness towards him, and lest they might be thought to be less concerned for his Safety than they ought to be. His Highness then conferred with those, who, he thought, were most like to be consulted with by the King, amongst whom he knew the Chancellor was one; and finding him to speak with less warmth than the rest, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his Highness was confirmed in the jealousy which Sir John Berkeley had kindled in him, that He was the principal Person who obstructed the King’s Condescension. There was at that time no Man with the King, who had been



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a Counsellor to his Father, or sworn to Himself, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of *Ormond*, though he had administered the Affairs in *Ireland*, was never sworn a Counsellor in *England*; yet his Majesty looked upon him in all respects most fit to advise him; and thought it necessary to form such a Body, as should be esteemed by all Men as his Privy-Council, without whose advise he would take no Resolutions. The King knew the Queen would not be well pleased, if the Lord *Jermyn* were not one; who in all other respects was necessary to that Trust, since all Addresses to the Court of *France* were to be made by him: and the Lord *Wilmot*, who had cultivated the King's Affection during the time of their Peregrination, and drawn many promises from him, and was full of projects for his Service, could not be left out. The King therefore called the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Jermyn*, and the Lord *Wilmot*, to the Council-Board; and declared "that they three, " together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, " should be consulted with in all his Affairs." The Queen very earnestly pressed the King, " that Sir " *John Berkeley* might likewise be made a Counsellor;" which his Majesty would not consent to; and thought he could not refuse the same Honor to the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Byron*, or any other Person who should wait upon him, if he granted it to Sir *John Berkeley*, who had no manner of pretence.

*Berkeley* took this refusal very heavily, and thought his great parts, and the services he had performed, which were known to very few, might well enough distinguish him from other Men. But because he

would

The King  
appoints a new  
Council.

Sir John  
Berkeley  
pretends to the  
Mastership of  
the Wards.

would not be thought without some just pretence which others had not, he very confidently insisted upon a Right he had, by a promise of the late King, to be Master of the Wards; and that Officer had usually been of the Privy-Council. The evidence he had of that promise, was an intercepted Letter from the late King to the Queen, which the Parliament had caused to be printed. In that Letter the King answered a Letter he had received from her Majesty, in which she put him in mind, "that he had promised her to make "*Jack Berkeley*" (which was the Style in the Letter) "Master of the Wards;" which, the King said, "he "wondered at, since he could not remember that she "had ever spoken to him to that purpose; implying "likewise that he was not fit for it. He pressed the "Chancellor of the Exchequer to urge this matter of "Right to the King" (and said, "the Queen would "declare the King had promised it to her) and to prevail with his Majesty to make him presently Master of the Wards; which would give him such a Title "to the Board, that others could not take his being "called thither as a prejudice to them."

The Chancellor had at that time much kindness for him, and did really desire to oblige him, but he durst not urge that for a reason to the King, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a Negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For besides that he very well knew the late King had not so good an opinion of Sir *John Berkeley*, as he himself did at that time heartily wish, and endeavour to infuse into him, the King had, after that promise was pretended to be made, granted that Office at *Oxford* to the Lord

**B O O K** *Cottington*; who executed it as long as Offices were  
**XIII.** executed under the Grant of the Crown, and was possessed of the Title to his death. The Chancellor did therefore very earnestly endeavour to dissuade him from making that pretence and demand to the King; and told him, "the King could not at this time do a  
 " more ungracious thing, that would lose him more  
 " the hearts and affections of the Nobility and Gentry  
 " of *England*, than in making a Master of the Wards,  
 " in a time when it would not be the least Advantage  
 " to his Majesty or the Officer, to declare that he  
 " resolved to insist upon that part of his Prerogative  
 " which his Father had consented to part with; the  
 " refusing whereof in the full rigor, which he might  
 " lawfully do, would ruin most of the Estates of *England*, as well of his Friends as Enemies, in regard of  
 " the vast Arrears incurred in so many years; and  
 " therefore whatever his Majesty might think to  
 " resolve hereafter, when it should please God to  
 " restore him, for the present there must be no thought  
 " of such an Officer.

Sir *John Berkely* was not satisfied at all with the reason that was alledged; and very unsatisfied with the unkindness (as he called it) of the refusal to interpose in it; and said, "since his friends would not, he would  
 " himself require justice of the King;" and immediately, hearing that the King was in the next Room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the Chancellor's contradiction, pressed his Majesty  
 " to make good the promise his Father had made;" and magnified the Services he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the

custom of making frequent relations of his own Actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which no body else ever heard of. The King who knew him very well, and believed little of his History, and less of his Father's promise, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a positive denial (which in his Nature his Majesty affected not) lest it might indispose his Mother or his Brother: and so, to every part of his request concerning the being of the Council, and concerning the Office, gave him such reasons against the gratifying him for the present, that he could not but plainly discern that his Majesty was very averse from it. But that consideration prevailed not with him; he used so great importunity, notwithstanding all the reasons which had been alledged, that at the last the King prevailed with himself, which he used not to do in such Cases, to give him a positive denial, and reprehension, at once; and so left him.

The King  
denies it him

All this he imputed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have spoken with the King from the time they had spoken together, before himself had that Audience from his Majesty; he declared, "that he  
" knew all that Indisposition had been infused by  
" him; because many of the reasons, which his Ma-  
" jesty had given against his doing what he desired,  
" were the very same that the Chancellor had urged  
" to him;" though they could not but have occurred to any reasonable Man, who had been called to consult upon that Subject. This passion prevailed so far upon him, that notwithstanding the advice of some of



**BOOK** his best Friends to the contrary, he took an opportunity to walk with the Chancellor shortly after; and, in a very calm, though a very confused discourse, told him, "that, since he was resolved to break all Friendship with him, which had continued now near twenty years, he thought it but just to give him notice of it, that from henceforward he might not expect any Friendship from him, but that they might live towards each other with that civility only that Strangers use to do." The Chancellor told him, "that the same justice that disposed him to give this notice, should likewise oblige him to declare the reason of this resolution;" and asked him, "whether he had ever broken his word to him? or promised to do what he had not done?" He answered, "his Exception was, that he could not be brought to make any promise; and that their judgments were so different, that he would no more depend upon him;" and so they parted, without ever after having conversation with each other whilst they remained in *France*.

Whereupon  
Said he  
drinks with  
the Chancellor

Deliberation  
in the Council,  
whether the  
Duke of York  
should go into  
the French  
Army.

The Spring was now advanced, and the Duke of York continued his importunity with the King, "that he might have his leave to repair to the Army." And thereupon his Majesty called his Council together, the Queen his Mother, and his Brother, being likewise present. There his Majesty declared "what his Brother had long desired of him; to which he had hitherto given no other Answer, than that he would think of it; and before he could give any other, he thought it necessary to receive their advice:" nor did his Majesty in the least discover what he himself

was inclined to. The Duke then repeated what he had desired of the King ; and said, “ he thought he asked  
 “ nothing but what became him ; if he did not, he  
 “ hoped the King would not deny it to him, and that  
 “ no body would advise he should.” The Queen spoke not a word ; and the King desired the Lords to deliver their opinion ; who all sat silent, expecting who would begin ; there being no fixed Rule of the Board, but sometimes, according to the Nature of the business, he who was first in place begun, at other times he who was last in Quality ; and when it required some debate before any opinion should be delivered, any Man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long silence, the King commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer to speak first. He said, “ it  
 “ could not be expected, that he would deliver his  
 “ opinion in a Matter that was so much too hard for  
 “ him, till he heard what others thought ; at least, till  
 “ the Question was otherwise stated than it yet seemed  
 “ to him to be.” He said, “ he thought the Council  
 “ would not be willing to take it upon Them to  
 “ advise that the Duke of York, the next Heir to the  
 “ Crown, should go a Volunteer into the *French* Army,  
 “ and that the exposing himself to so much danger,  
 “ should be the effect of Their Counsel, who ought  
 “ to have all possible tenderness for the safety of every  
 “ Branch of the Royal Family ; but if the Duke of  
 “ York, out of his own Princely courage, and to attain  
 “ experience in the Art of War, of which there was  
 “ like to be so great use, had taken a resolution to  
 “ visit the Army, and to spend that Campaign in it,  
 “ and that the question only was, whether the King

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" should restrain him from that Expedition, he was  
 " ready to declare his opinion, that his Majesty  
 " should not; there being great difference between  
 " the King's advising him to go, which implies an  
 " approbation, and barely suffering him to do what  
 " his own Genius inclined him to." The King and  
 Queen liked the stating of the Question, as suiting  
 best with the tenderness they ought to have; and the  
 Duke was as well pleased with it, since it left him at  
 the Liberty he desired; and the Lords thought it  
 safest for Them: and so all were pleased; and much  
 of the prejudice which the Duke had entertained to-  
 wards the Chancellor, was abated: and his Royal  
 Highness, with the good liking of the *French* Court,  
 went to the Army; where he was received by the  
 Marechal of *Turenne*, with all possible demonstration  
 of respect; where, in a short time, he got the reputa-  
 tion of a Prince of very signal Courage, and to be  
 universally beloved of the whole Army by his affa-  
 ble behaviour.

The Duke goes  
 to the Army.

The insupportable necessities of the King were now  
 grown so notorious, that the *French* Court was com-  
 pelled to take notice of them; and thereupon, with  
 some dry Compliments for the smallness of the Affig-  
 nation in respect of the ill condition of their Affairs,  
 which indeed were not in any good posture, they  
 settled an Affignation of six thousand Livres by the  
 Month upon the King, payable out of such a Gabel;  
 which, being to begin six Months after the King came  
 thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily  
 satisfied out of such a Monthly receipt, though it had  
 been punctually complied with; which it never was.

The Affig-  
 nation of six  
 thousand Li-  
 vres by the  
 month settled  
 upon the King  
 by the French  
 Court.

The Queen, at his Majesty's first arrival, had declared, " that she was not able to bear the charge of the King's diet, but that he must pay one half of the expense of her Table, where both their Majesties ate, with the Duke of *York*, and the Princess *Henrietta*" (which two were at the Queen's charge till the King came thither, but from that time, the Duke of *York* was upon the King's Account) and the very first Night's Supper which the King ate with the Queen, begun the Account; and a Moiety thereof was charged to the King: so that the first Money that was received for the King upon his Grant, was entirely stopped by Sir *Harry Wood*, the Queen's Treasurer, for the discharge of his Majesty's part of the Queen's Table (which expense was first satisfied, as often as Money could be procured) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted, at his first coming, for Clothes and other Necessaries, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his Servants; the Marquis of *Ormond* himself being compelled to put himself in Pension, with other Gentlemen, at a Pistole a Week for his diet, and to walk the Streets on foot, which was no honorable custom in *Paris*; whilst the Lord *Jermyn* kept an excellent Table for those who courted him, and had a Coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the King had the most urgent occasion for the Use but of twenty Pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from



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receiving the sum assigned by the King of *France*, his Necessities would not have been so extraordinary. For when the King went to *Jersey* in order to his Journey into *Ireland*, and at the same time that he sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer into *Spain*, he sent likewise the Lord *Colepepper* into *Moscow*, to borrow Money of that Duke; and into *Poland* he sent Mr. *Crofts* upon the same errand. The former returned whilst the King was in *Scotland*; and the latter about the time that his Majesty made his escape from *Worcester*. And both of them succeeded so well in their Journey, that he who received least for his Majesty's Service, had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expence of their Journeys.

How the Money was disposed that was sent the King from *Moscow* and *Poland*.

But, as if the King had been out of all possible danger to want Money, the Lord *Jermyn* had sent an Express into *Scotland*, as soon as he knew what success the Lord *Colepepper* had at *Moscow*, and found there were no less hopes from Mr. *Crofts*, and procured from the King (who could with more ease grant, than deny) Warrants under his hand to both those Envoys, to pay the Monies they had received to several Persons; whereof a considerable Sum was made a present to the Queen, more to the Lord *Jermyn*, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminished by that receipt, and all disposed of according to the modesty of the Askers; whereof Dr. *Gosse* had eight hundred pounds for Services he had performed, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his Religion, and became one of the Fathers of the Oration: so that, when the King returned in all that distress to *Paris*, he never received five hundred

Pistoles from the proceed of both those Embassies; nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty, seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed to do him any Service upon their own expense; of which the King was sensible enough, but resolved to bear that and more, rather than, by entering into any Expostulation with those who were faulty, to give any trouble to the Queen.

The Lord *Jermyn*, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to Religion, was always of some Faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the Presbyterians from the time that there had been any Treaties with the *Scots*, in which he had too much privacy. And now, upon the King's Return into *France*, he had a great design to persuade his Majesty to go to the Congregation at *Charenton*, to the end that he might keep up his Interest in the Presbyterian Party; which he had no reason to believe would ever be able to do the King Service, or willing, if they were able, without such odious Conditions as they had hitherto insisted upon in all their Overtures. The Queen did not, in the least degree, oppose this, but rather seemed to countenance it, as the best Expedient that might incline him, by degrees, to prefer the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. For though the Queen had never, to this time, by herself, or by others with her advice, used the least means to persuade the King to change his Religion, as well out of observation of the Injunction laid upon her by the deceased King, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but persuade her that the Change of his Religion

**B O O K** would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering  
**XIII.** *England* desperate; yet it is as true, that, from the King's return from *Worcester*, she did really despair of his being restored by the Affections of his own Subjects; and believed that it could never be brought to pass without a Conjunction of Catholic Princes on his behalf, and by an united force to Restore him; and that such a Conjunction would never be entered into, except the King himself became Roman-Catholic. Therefore from this time she was very well content that any Attempts should be made upon him to that purpose; and, in that regard, wished that he would go to *Charenton*; which she well knew was not the Religion he affected, but would be a little discountenance to the Church in which he had been bred; and from which as soon as he could be persuaded in any degree to swerve, he would be more exposed to any other temptation. The King had not positively refused to gratify the Ministers of that Congregation; who, with great professions of Duty had besought him to do them that Honor, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to him; in which it was believed, that they were the more like to prevail by the Death of Dr. *Steward*; for whose judgment in matters of Religion the King had reverence, by the earnest recommendation of his Father: and he died after the King's Return within fourteen days, with some trouble upon the importunity and artifice he saw used to prevail with the King to go to *Charenton*, though he saw no disposition in his Majesty to yield to it.

The Ministers of Charenton press the King to come to their Church; and are seconded by the Lord Jermyn. Dr. Steward dies presently after the King's return into France.

The Lord *Jermyn* still pressed it, "as a thing that

" ought in policy and discretion to be done, to re-  
 " concile that People, which was a great Body in  
 " *France*, to the King's Service, which would draw  
 " to him all the Foreign Churches, and thereby he  
 " might receive considerable Assistance." He won-  
 " dered, he said, " why it should be opposed by any  
 " Man; since he did not wish that his Majesty would  
 " discontinue his own Devotions, according to the  
 " course he had always observed; nor propose that  
 " he should often repair thither, but only sometimes,  
 " at least once, to show that he did look upon them  
 " as of the same Religion with him; which the  
 " Church of *England* had always acknowledged;  
 " and that it had been an Instruction to the *English*  
 " Ambassadors, that they should keep a good cor-  
 " respondence with those of the Religion, and fre-  
 " quently resort to Divine Service at *Charenton*;  
 " where they had always a Pew kept for them."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer dissuaded his  
 Majesty from going thither with equal earnestness;  
 told him, " that, whatever countenance or favor,  
 " the Crown or Church of *England* had heretofore  
 " showed to those Congregations, it was in a time  
 " when they carried themselves with modesty and  
 " duty towards both, and when they professed great  
 " duty to the King, and much reverence to that  
 " Church; lamenting themselves, that it was not in  
 " their power, by the opposition of the State, to  
 " make their Reformation so perfect as it was in  
 " *England*. And by this kind of behaviour they had  
 " indeed received the Protection and Countenance  
 " from *England*, as if they were of the same Religion,

The Chan-  
 cellor of the  
 Exchequer  
 dissuaded  
 him from it



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“ though, it may be, the Original of that Counte-  
 “ nance and Protection proceeded from another less  
 “ warrantable foundation ; which he was sure would  
 “ never find credit from his Majesty. But, whatever  
 “ it was, that People now had undervalued it from  
 “ the King ; for, as soon as the Troubles began, the  
 “ Hugonots of *France* had generally expell’d great  
 “ Malice to the late King, and very many of their  
 “ Preachers and Ministers had publicly and indus-  
 “ triously justified the Rebellion, and prayed for the  
 “ good success of it ; and their Synod itself had in  
 “ such a manner inveighed against the Church of  
 “ *England*, that they, upon the matter, professed  
 “ themselves to be of another Religion ; and in-  
 “ veighed against Episcopacy, as if it were inconsis-  
 “ tent with the Protestant Religion. That one of  
 “ their great Professors at their University of *Saumur*,  
 “ who was looked upon as a Man of the most mo-  
 “ derate spirit amongst their Ministers, had published  
 “ an Apology for the general inclination of that Party  
 “ to the proceedings of the Parliament of *England*,  
 “ lest it might give some jealousy to their own King  
 “ of their inclination to Rebellion, and of their opi-  
 “ nion that it was lawful for Subjects to take up  
 “ Arms against their Prince ; which, he said, could  
 “ not be done in *France* without manifest Rebellion,  
 “ and incurring the displeasure of God for the mani-  
 “ fest breach of his Commandments ; because the  
 “ King of *France* is an absolute King, independent  
 “ upon any other Authority. But that the Constitu-  
 “ tion of the Kingdom of *England* was of another  
 “ Nature ; because the King there is subordinate to

“ the Parliament, which hath Authority to raise  
 “ Arms for the Reformation of Religion, or for the  
 “ executing the public Justice of the Kingdom against  
 “ all those who violate the Laws of the Nation, so  
 “ that the War might be just There, which in no  
 “ case could be warrantable in *France*. ”

The Chancellor told the King, “ that, after such  
 “ an indignity offered to him, and to his Crown, and  
 “ since they had now made such a distinction be-  
 “ tween the Episcopal and the Presbyterian Govern-  
 “ ment. that they thought the Professors were not of  
 “ the same Religion, his going to *Charenton* could  
 “ not be without this effect, that it would be con-  
 “ cluded every where. that his Majesty thought the  
 “ one or the other Profession to be indifferent; which  
 “ would be one of the most deadly wounds to the  
 “ Church of *England* that it had yet ever suffered.”

These reasons prevailed so far with the King’s own  
 natural aversion from what had been proposed, that  
 he declared positively, “ he would never go to *Cha-*  
 “ *renton*; which determination eased him from any  
 farther application of that People. The reproach of  
 this resolution was wholly charged upon the Chan-  
 cellor of the Exchequer, as the implacable Enemy  
 of all Presbyterians, and as the only Man who di-  
 verted the King from having a good opinion of them;  
 whereas in truth, the daily information he received  
 from the King himself of their barbarous behaviour  
 in *Scotland* towards him, and of their insupportable  
 pride and pedantry in their Manners, did confirm  
 him in the judgment he had always made of their  
 Profession; and he was the more grievous to those

The King  
 declared he  
 would not go

**B O O K** of that Profession, because they could not, as they  
**XIII.** used to do all those who opposed and crossed them in that manner, accuse him of being Popishly affected and governed by the Papists; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the Queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her Religion, made her willing to appear most displeased for his hindering the King from going to *Charenton*.

There was another Accident, which fell out at this time, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer foresaw would exceedingly increase the Queen's prejudice to him; which he did very heartily desire to avoid, and to recover her Majesty's favor by all the ways he could pursue with his duty; and, in consistence with that, did never, in the least degree, dispose his Majesty to deny any thing to her which she owned the desire of. Lieutenant-General *Middleton*, who had been taken Prisoner after *Worcester* Fight, after he was recovered of his wounds was sent Prisoner to the Tower of *London*; where were likewise many Noble Persons of that Nation, as the Earl of *Crawford*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and many others. But as They of the Parliament had a greater regard for *Middleton* than for any other of that Country, knowing him to be a Man of great honor and courage, and much the best Officer the *Scots* had, so they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their Mercy, and might proceed against him more warrantably for his life, than against their other Prisoners; because he had heretofore, in the beginning of the War, served them; and though he had quitted their Service at the same time when

they cashiered the Earl of *Essex*, and made their new Model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolved to free themselves from any farther apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new High-Court of Justice, for the Trial of some Persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially *Middleton* and *Massey*. B O O K  
XIII.

This last, after he had escaped from *Worcester*, and travelled two or three days, found himself so tormented and weakened by his Wounds, that being near the Seat of the Earl of *Stamford*, whose Lieutenant-Colonel he had been in the beginning of the War, and being well known to his Lady, he chose to commit himself to Her rather than to her Husband; hoping, that in honor she would have found some means to preserve him. But the Lady had only charity to cure his Wounds, not courage to conceal his Person; and such Advertisements were given of him, that, as soon as he was fit to be removed the was likewise sent to the Tower, and destined to be sacrificed by a High Court of Justice together with *Middleton*, for the future security of the Common-wealth. Middleton  
and Massey,  
Prisoners in  
the Tower,  
designed to be  
tried by a  
High-Court  
of Justice.

But now the Presbyterian interest showed itself, and doubtless, in enterprises of this Nature, was very powerful; having in all places Persons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their Orders, though they did not pretend to be of their Party. And the time Approaching that they were sure *Middleton* was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him so good and particular Advertisement, that he took his leave of his Friends in the Tower, and made his Escape; and having Friends enough to shelter him in Middleton  
makes his  
escape into  
France.



**B O O K** *London*, after he had concealed himself there a Fort-  
**XIII.** night or three Weeks, that the diligence of the first  
 examination and inquiry was over, he was safely  
 Transported into *France*. And within few days after,  
*Massey* had the same good fortune, to the grief and  
 vexation of the very Soul of *Cromwell*; who thirsted  
 for the blood of those two Persons.

And Massey  
 escapes.

An account of  
 Scotland  
 brought to the  
 King by a Scot-  
 tish Vicar that  
 Middleton  
 brought with  
 him.

When *Middleton* came to the King to *Paris*, he  
 brought with him a little *Scottish* Vicar, who was  
 known to the King, one Mr. *Knox*, who brought  
 Letters of credit to his Majesty, and some Proposi-  
 tions from his Friends in *Scotland* and other Def-  
 patches from the Lords in the Tower, with whom  
 he had conferred after *Middleton* had escaped from  
 thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was  
 struck into the hearts of that whole Nation by the  
 severe proceedings of General *Monk*, to whose care  
*Cromwell* had committed the Reduction of that King-  
 dom, upon the taking of *Dundee*, where Persons of all  
 Degrees and Qualities were put to the Sword after the  
 Town was entered, and all left to plunder; upon which  
 all other places surrendered. All Men complained  
 of the Marquis of *Argyle*, who prosecuted the King's  
 Friends with the utmost malice, and protected and  
 preserved the rest according to his desire. He gave  
 the King assurance from the most considerable Per-  
 sons, who had retired into the High-lands, "that  
 " they would never swerve from their duty; and  
 " that they would be able, during the Winter, to  
 " infest the Enemy by incursions into their Quarters;  
 " and that, if *Middleton* might be sent to them with  
 " some Supply of Arms, they would have an Army  
 " ready

“ ready against the Spring, strong enough to meet **B O O K**  
 “ with *Monk*.” He said, “ he was Addressed from **XIII.**  
 “ *Scotland* to the Lords in the Tower, who did not  
 “ then know that *Middleton* had arrived in safety  
 “ with the King; and therefore they had commanded  
 “ him, if neither *Middleton*, nor the Lord *Newburgh*  
 “ were about his Majesty, that then he should repair  
 “ to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and desire him to pre-  
 “ sent him to the King; but that, having found both  
 “ those Lords there, he had made no farther Appli-  
 “ cation than to them, who had brought him to his  
 “ Majesty.” He told the King, “ that both those in **The Requests**  
 “ *Scotland*, and those in the Tower, made it their to the King of  
 “ humble request, or rather a condition to his Ma- his Friends  
 “ jesty; that, except it were granted, they would there.  
 “ no more think of serving his Majesty: the condi-  
 “ tion was, that whatever should have relation to  
 “ his Service in *Scotland*, and to Their Persons who  
 “ were to venture their lives in it, might not be  
 “ communicated to the Queen, the Duke of *Buck-*  
 “ *ingham*, the Lord *Jermyn*, or the Lord *Wilmot*.  
 “ They professed all duty to the Queen, but they  
 “ knew she had too good an opinion of the Marquis  
 “ of *Argyle*; who would infallibly come to know  
 “ whatever was known to either of the other.

The King did not expect that any notable Service  
 could be performed by his Friends in *Scotland* for his  
 Advantage, or their own Redemption; yet did not  
 think it fit to seem to undervalue the Professions, and  
 Overtures of those who had, during his being amongst  
 them, made all possible demonstration of Affection,  
 and Duty to him; and therefore resolved to grant

**B O O K**  
**XIII.**

any thing they desired ; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the Queen, or the other three Lords. But since they proposed present Despatches to be made of Commissions, and Letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that Service. The next day they attended his Majesty again, and desired, "that all matters relating to "*Scotland* might be consulted by his Majesty with "*the Marquis of Ormond*, the Lord *Newburgh*, and "*the Chancellor of the Exchequer*; and that all the "*Despatches* might be made by the Chancellor;" which the King consented to ; and bid the Lord *Newburgh* go with them to him, and let them know his Majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the Lord *Newburgh* brought *Middleton* to the Chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

The King  
appoints the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer  
to make all  
Despatches for  
Scotland.

The Marquis  
of Ormond's  
and the Chan-  
cellor's opi-  
nion concern-  
ing the King's  
Affairs at that  
time.

The Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, believed that the King had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and carefully avoid doing any thing that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the Amity of Christian Princes, or some such Revolution of Affairs in *England* by their own Discontents, and Divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his Majesty again to show himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the Queen, that without being received into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her Grace and good Acceptation. But the designation of them

to this *Scottish* Intrigue, crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of Peace and Tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes. BOOK  
XIII.

The Chancellor therefore went presently to the King, and besought him with earnestness, "that he would not lay that Burden upon him, or engage him in any part of the Counsels of that People." He put his Majesty in mind of "the continued avowed jealousy, and displeasure, which that whole Party in that Nation had ever had against him; and that his Majesty very well knew, that those Noble Persons who served him best when he was in *Scotland*, and in whose Affection and Fidelity he had all possible satisfaction, had some prejudice against him, and would be troubled when they should hear that all their Secrets were committed to Him. He told his Majesty, this Trust would for ever deprive him of all hope of the Queen's favor; who could not but discern it within three or four days, and, by the frequent resort of the *Scottish* Vicar to him" (who had the Vanity to desire long Conferences with him) "that there was some secret in hand which was kept from Her; and she would as easily discover, that the Chancellor was privy to it, by his reading Papers to his Majesty, and his Signing them; and would from thence conclude, that He had persuaded him to exclude her Majesty from that Trust; which she would never forgive." Upon the whole, he renewed his importunity, "that he might be excused from this confidence."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer desires the King not to employ him in the Scottish Affairs.

The King heard him with patience and attention The King's  
reply to him.



B O O K  
XIII.

enough ; and confessed, “ that he had reason not to  
 “ be solicitous for that employment ; but he wished  
 “ him to consider withal, that he must either under-  
 “ take it, or that his Majesty must in plain terms  
 “ reject the Correspondence ; which, he said, he  
 “ thought he would not advise him to do. If his  
 “ Majesty entertained it, it could not be imagined  
 “ that all those Transactions could pass through his  
 “ own hand, or, if they could, his being shut up  
 “ so long alone would make the same discovery.  
 “ Whom then should he trust ? The Lord *Newburgh*,  
 “ it was very true, was a very honest Man, and  
 “ worthy of any Trust ; but he was not a Counsel-  
 “ lor, and nothing could be so much wondered at, as  
 “ his frequent being shut up with him ; and more,  
 “ his bringing any Papers to him to be signed. As to  
 “ the general prejudice which he conceived was  
 “ against him by that Party,” his Majesty told him,  
 “ the Nation was much altered since he had to do  
 “ with them, and that no Men were better loved by  
 “ them now than They who had from the beginning  
 “ been faithful to his Father, and Himself. To which  
 “ he added, that *Middleton* had the least in him, of  
 “ any infirmities most incident to that Party, that he  
 “ knew ; and that he would find him a Man of great  
 “ Honor and Ingenuity, with whom he would be  
 “ well pleased.” His Majesty said, “ he would frankly  
 “ declare to his Mother, that he had received some  
 “ Intelligence out of *Scotland*, and that he was obliged,  
 “ and had given his word to those whose Lives would  
 “ be forfeited if known, that he would not commu-  
 “ nicate it with any but those who were chosen by

“ themselves; and, after this, she could not be offended with his reservation:” and concluded with a gracious conjuration, and command to the Chancellor, “ that he should cheerfully submit, and undergo that Employment; which, he assured him, should never be attended with prejudice or inconvenience to him.” In this manner, he submitted himself to the King’s disposal, and was trusted throughout that Affair; which had several Stages in the years following, and did produce the inconveniencies he had foreseen, and rendered him so unacceptable to the Queen, that she easily entertained those prejudices against him, which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her, and under which he was compelled to bear many hardships.

B O O K  
XIII.

The Chancellor submits; and was accordingly trusted in these Affairs.

This uncomfortable Condition of the King was rendered yet more desperate, by the Straits, and Necessities, into which the *French* Court was about this time plunged: so that they who hitherto had showed no very good will to assist the King, were now become really unable to do it. The Parliament of *Paris* had behaved themselves so refractorily to all their King’s Commands, pressed so importunately for the liberty of the Princes, and so impatiently for the remove of the Cardinal, that the Cardinal was at last compelled to persuade the Queen to consent to both: and so himself rid to *Havre de Grace*, and delivered the Queen’s Warrant to set them at liberty, and after a short Conference with the Prince of *Condé*, he continued his own Journey towards *Germany*, and passed in disguise, with two or three Servants, till he came

The Troubles of the French Court about this time.

**B O O K** near *Cologne*, and there he remained at a House  
**XIII.** belonging to that Elector.

When the Prince came to *Paris*, they had received great welcome from the Parliament, and the City; and instead of closing with the Court, which it was thought they would have done, the Wound was widened without any hope of reconciliation: so that the King, and Queen-Regent, withdrew from thence; the Town was in Arms; and Fire and Sword denounced against the Cardinal; his Goods sold at an Outcry; and a price set upon his Head; and all Persons who professed any Duty to their King, found themselves very unsafe in *Paris*. During all this time the Queen of *England* and the King, with their Families, remained in the *Louvre*, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to stay there; the Assignments, which had been made for their Subsistence, not being paid them: and the loose People of the Town begun to talk of the Duke of *York's* being in Arms against them. But the Duke of *Orleans*, under whose name all the disorders were committed, and the Prince of *Condé*, visited our King and Queen with many Professions of Civility; but those were shortly abated likewise, when the *French* King's Army came upon one side of the Town, and the *Spanish*, with the Duke of *Lorraine's*, upon the other. The *French* Army thought they had the Enemy upon an advantage and desired to have a Battle with them; which the other declined; all which time, the Court had an underhand-Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine*; and, upon a day appointed, the *French* King sent to the King of *England*, to desire him to confer with the

Duke of *Lorraine*; who lay then with his Army within a Mile of the Town. There was no reason visible for that desire, nor could it be conceived, that his Majesty's interposition could be of moment: yet his Majesty knew not how to refuse it; but immediately went to the place assigned; where he found both Armies drawn up in Battalia within Cannon-shot of each other. Upon his Majesty's coming to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Treaty was again revived, and Messages sent between the Duke and Marechal *Turenne*. In fine, the night approaching, both Armies drew off from their ground, and his Majesty returned to the *Louvre*; and before the next morning, the Treaty was finished between the Court and the Duke of *Lorraine*; and he marched away with his whole Army towards *Flanders*, and left the *Spaniards* to support the Parliament against the Power of the *French* Army; which advanced upon them with that Resolution, that, though they defended themselves very bravely, and the Prince of *Condé* did the Office of a brave General in the *Fauxbourg St. Marceaux*, and at the *Porte St. Antoine*, in which places many gallant Persons of both sides were slain, they had been all cut off, if the City had not been prevailed with to suffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the King's Army retired to their old Post, four Leagues off, and attended future advantages: the King having a very great Party in the Parliament and the City, which abhorred the receiving and entertaining the *Spaniards* into their bowels.

This Retreat of the Duke of *Lorraine*, broke the neck of the Prince of *Condé's* design. He knew well



**B O O K** he should not be long able to retain the Duke of  
**XIII.** *Orleans* from treating with the Court, or keep the  
*Parisians* at his Devotion; and that the Duke de *Beau-*  
*fort*, whom they had made Governor of *Paris*, would  
be weary of the Contention. For the present, they  
were all incensed against the Duke of *Lorraine*; and  
were well enough contented that the People should  
believe, that this defection in the Duke was wrought  
by the activity, and interposition of the King of  
*England*; and they who did know that his Interest  
could not have produced that effect, could not tell  
how to interpret his Majesty's Journey to speak with  
the Duke in so unreasonable a conjuncture: so that,  
as the People expressed, and used all the insolent re-  
proaches against the *English* Court at the *Louvre*, and  
loudly threatened to be revenged, so neither the Duke  
of *Orleans*, nor the Prince of *Condé*, made any visit  
there, or expressed the least Civility towards it. In  
truth, our King and Queen did not think themselves  
out of danger, nor staid out of the *Louvre* for many  
days, until the *French* Court thought themselves  
obliged to provide for their Security, by advising the  
King and Queen to remove, and assigned *St. Germain's*  
to them for their Retreat. Then his Majesty sent to  
the Duke of *Orleans*, and Prince of *Condé*, "that their  
" purpose was to leave the Town:" upon which,  
there was a Guard that attended Them out of the  
Town at the evening; which could not be got to be  
in readiness till then; and they were shortly after met  
by some Troops of Horse sent by the *French* King,  
which conducted them by Torch-light to *St. Ger-*  
*main's*; where they arrived about midnight; and

The King of  
England and  
his mother  
remove to  
*St. Germain's*.

remained there without any disturbance, till *Paris* was reduced to that King's Obedience.

B O O K

XIII.

It is a very hard thing for People who have nothing to do, to forbear doing something which they ought not to do; and the King might well hope that, since he had nothing else left to enjoy, he might have enjoyed quiet and repose; and that Court which had nothing to give, might have been free from Faction and Ambition; whilst every Man had composed himself to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for Conscience sake, which every Man pretended to be his case, with submission and content, till it should please God to buoy up the King from the lowness he was in; who in truth suffered much more than any Body else. But whilst there are Courts in the World, Emulation and Ambition will be inseparable from them; and Kings who have nothing to give, shall be pressed to promise; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and mischievous than any present gifts could be, because they always draw on more of the same title, and pretence; and as they who receive the Favors, are not the more satisfied, so they who are not paid in the same kind, or who, out of modesty and discretion, forbear to make such Suits, are grieved and offended to see the vanity, and presumption of bold Men so unreasonably gratified and encouraged.

The King found no benefit of this kind in being stripped of all his Dominions, and all his Power. Men were as importunate, as hath been said before, for Honors and Offices, and Revenues, as if they could have taken possession of them as soon as they had been granted, though but by promise: and Men who would

Solicitations  
for places in  
the King's  
Court.

**B O O K** not have had the presumption to have asked the same  
**XIII.** thing, if the King had been in *England*, thought it very justifiable to demand it, because he was Not there; since there were so many hazards that they should never live to enjoy what he promised. The vexations he underwent of this kind, cannot be expressed; and who soever succeeded not in his unreasonable desires imputed it only to the ill Nature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and concluded, that He alone obstructed it, because they always received very gracious Answers from his Majesty: so that though his wants were as visible and notorious as any Man's, and it appeared he got nothing for himself, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit, and interest he was thought to have with his Master.

The Lord *Wilmot* had, by the opportunity of his late conversation with the King in his Escape, drawn many kind expressions from his Majesty; and he thought he could not be too solicitous to procure such a Testimony of his Grace and Favor, as might distinguish him from other Men, and publish the esteem the King had of him. Therefore he importuned his Majesty that he would make him an Earl, referring the time of his Creation to his Majesty's own choice: and the modesty of this reference prevailed; the King well knowing, that the same Honor would be desired on the behalf of another, by one whom he should be unwilling to deny. But since it was not asked for the present, he promised to do it in a time that should appear to be convenient for his Service.

There were Projects of another kind, which were much more troublesome; in which the Projectors still

B O O K  
XIII.

considered Themselves in the first place, and what their condition might prove to be by the Success. The Duke of *York* was so well pleased with the fatigue of the War, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his Servants did not like that course of life so well, at least desired so far to improve it, that they might reap some Advantages to themselves out of His Appointments. Sir *John Berkeley* was now, upon the death of the Lord *Byron*, by which the Duke was deprived of a very good Servant, become the superior of his Family, and called himself without any Authority for it, *Intendant des Affaires de son Altesse Royale*; had the management of all his receipts and disbursements; and all the rest depended upon him. He desired, by all ways, to get a better Revenue for his Master, than the small Pension he received from *France*; and thought no expedient so proper for him, as a Wife of a great and noble Fortune; which he presumed he should have the managing of.

The Lord  
Byron, the  
Duke's Govern-  
nor, dies.

There was then a Lady in the Town, *Mademoiselle de Longueville*, the Daughter of the Duke de *Longueville* by his first Wife, by whom she was to inherit a very fair Revenue, and had title to a very considerable Sum of Money, which her Father was obliged to account for: so that she was looked upon, as one of the greatest and richest Marriages in *France*, in respect of her fortune; in respect of her Person not at all attractive, being a Lady of a very low Stature, and that Stature somewhat deformed. This Lady Sir *John* designed for the Duke; and treated with those Ladies who were nearest to her, and had been trusted with the Education of her, before he mentioned it to his Royal

Sir John  
Berkeley de-  
signs Made-  
moiselle de  
Longue-



BOOK

XIII.

ville for the  
Duke's wife.

Highness. Then he persuaded him, "that all hopes in  
 " *England* were desperate: that the Government was  
 " so secul'd there, that it could never be shaken; so  
 " that his Highness must think of no other fortune  
 " than what he should make by his Sword: that he  
 " was now upon the Stage where he must act out his  
 " Life, and that he should do well to think of provid-  
 " ing a Civil fortune for himself, as well as a Martial;  
 " which could only be by Marriage:" and then spoke  
 of *Mademoiselle de Longueville*, and made her Fortune  
 at least equal to what it was; "which, he said, when  
 " once his Highness was possessed of, he might sell;  
 " and thereby raise Money to pay an Army to invade  
 " *England*, and so might become the Restorer of the  
 " King his Brother: this he thought very practicable,  
 " if his Highness seriously and heartily would en-  
 " deavour it." The Duke himself had no aversion  
 from Marriage, and the consideration of the Fortune,  
 and the circumstances which might attend it, made it  
 not the less acceptable; yet he made no other Answer  
 to it, "than that he must first know the King's and  
 " Queen's judgment of it, before he could take any  
 " resolution what to do." Upon which Sir *John*  
 undertook, with his Highness' approbation, to pro-  
 pose it to their Majesties himself, and accordingly first  
 spoke with the Queen, enlarging on all the benefit  
 which probably might attend it.

It was believed, that the first Overture and Attempt  
 had not been made without her Majesty's privity,  
 and Approbation; for the Lord *Jermyn* had been no  
 less active in the contrivance than Sir *John Berkeley*:  
 yet her Majesty refused to deliver any opinion in it,

till she knew the King's: and so at last, after the young Lady herself had been spoken to, his Majesty was informed of it, and his Approbation desired; with which he was not well pleased; and yet was unwilling to use his Authority to obstruct what was looked upon as so great a benefit and advantage to his Brother; though he did not dissemble his resentment of Their presumption who undertook to enter upon Treaties of that Nature, with the same liberty as if it concerned only their own Kindred and Allies: however, he was very reserved in saying what he thought of it. Whilst his Majesty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to discover what the Chancellor of the Exchequer's judgment was; and the Lord *Jermyn* spoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the King's part, otherwise than from the difficulty of bringing it to pass, in regard the Lady's Friends would not easily be induced to give their consent. But the Chancellor could not be drawn to make any other Answer, than "that it was a Subject so much above his comprehension, and the consequences might be such, that he had not the ambition to desire to be consulted with upon it; and that less than the King's or Queen's command should not induce him to enter upon the discourse of it."

It was not long before the Queen sent for him; and seeming to complain of the importunity, which was used towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, asked him, what his opinion of it was? to which he answered, "that he did not understand the convenience of it so well, as to judge whether it were like to be of benefit to the Duke of York: but

The Queen  
consults the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer  
about the  
Marriage.

**B O O K** “ he thought, that neither the King, nor her Majesty;  
**XIII.** “ should be willing that the Heir of the Crown should  
 “ be married before the King himself; or that it should  
 “ be in any Woman’s power to say, that, if there were  
 “ but one Person dead, she should be a Queen :” with  
 which her Majesty, who no doubt did love the King  
 with all possible tenderness, seemed to be moved, as  
 if it had been a consideration she had not thought of  
 before; and said, with some warmth, “ that she would  
 “ never give her consent that it should be so.” How-  
 ever, this Argument was quickly made known to the  
 Duke of *York*, and several glosses made upon it, to the  
 reproach of the Chancellor: yet it made such an im-  
 pression, that there were then as active endeavours to  
 find a convenient Wife for the King himself, and  
*Mademoiselle* the Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans*, by  
 likewise thought on for his first Wife, who, in the Right of her Mother, was  
 the King. already possessed of the fair inheritance of the Dutchy  
 of *Mompensier*, was thought of. To this the Queen  
 was much inclined, and the King himself not averse;  
 both looking too much upon the relief it might give  
 to his present necessities, and the convenience of hav-  
 ing a place to repose in, as long as the storm should  
 continue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had no  
 thought, by the conclusion he had made in the other  
 Overture, to have drawn on this proposition; and the  
 Marquis of *Ormond* and He were no less troubled  
 with this, than with the former; which made them  
 be looked upon as Men of contradiction.

The Marquis  
 of Ormond’s  
 and the Chan-  
 cellor of the

They represented to the King, “ that, as it could  
 “ administer only some competency towards his pre-  
 “ sent Subsistence, so it might exceedingly prejudice

" his future hopes, and alienate the affections of his B O O K  
 " Friends in *England*: that the Lady was elder than XIII.  
 " He by some years; which was an exception amongst Exchequer's  
 " private Persons; and had been observed not to be exceptions  
 " prosperous to Kings: That his Majesty must expect against this.  
 " to be pressed to those things in point of Religion  
 " which he could never consent to; and yet he  
 " should undergo the same disadvantage as if he had  
 " consented, by many Men's believing he had done  
 " so " They besought him " to set his heart entirely  
 " upon the recovery of *England*, and to indulge to  
 " nothing that might reasonably obstruct That, either  
 " by making him less intent upon it, or by creating  
 " new difficulties in the pursuing it." His Majesty  
 assured them " that his heart was set upon nothing  
 " else; and, if he had inclination to this Marriage, it  
 " was because he believed it might much facilitate  
 " the other: that he looked not upon her Fortune,  
 " which was very great, as an annual support to him,  
 " but as a stock that should be at his disposal; by  
 " Sale whereof he might raise Money enough to raise  
 " a good Army to attempt the recovery of his King-  
 " doms: and that he would be well assured, that it  
 " should be in his power to make that use of it, before  
 " he would be engaged in the Treaty: that he had no  
 " apprehension of the pressures which would be made  
 " in matters of Religion, because, if the Lady did  
 " once consent to the Marriage, she would affect no-  
 " thing but what might advance the recovery of his  
 " Dominions; which she would quickly understand  
 " any unreasonable Concessions in Religion would  
 " never do." In a word, his Majesty discovered



**B O O K** enough to let them see that he stood well enough inclined to the Overture itself; which gave them trouble, as a thing which, in many respects, was like to prove very inconvenient.

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But they were quickly freed from that Apprehension. The Lady carried herself in that manner, on the behalf of the Prince of *Condé*, and so offensively to the *French Court*, having given fire herself to the Cannon in the *Bastile* upon the King at the *Porte St. Antoine*, and done so many blamable things against the *French King and Queen*, that they no sooner heard of this discourse, but they quickly put an end to it; the Cardinal, who was now returned again, having long resolved, that our King should never owe any part of his Restoration to any countenance, or assistance, he should receive from *France*: and, from the same conclusion, the like end was put to all Overtures which had concerned the Duke of *Tork* and the other Lady.

Both these  
designs come  
to nothing.

There was, shortly after, an unexpected Accident, that seemed to make some alteration in the affairs of *Christendom*; which many very reasonably believed, might have proved advantageous to the King. The Parliament, as soon as they had settled their Commonwealth, and had no Enemy they feared, had sent Ambassadors to their Sister Republic, the States of the united Provinces, to invite them to enter into a stricter Alliance with them, and, upon the Matter, to be as one Commonwealth, and to have one Interest. They were received in *Holland* with all imaginable respect, and as great Expressions made as could be, of an equal desire that a firm Union might be established between the two Commonwealths: and, for the forming thereof,

The Parlia-  
ment sent  
Ambassadors  
to Holland to  
invite them to  
a strict Union,  
Saint John  
being the  
chief.

thereof, Persons were appointed to treat with the Ambassadors; which was looked upon as a matter that would easily succeed, since the Prince of *Orange*, who could have given powerful obstructions in such Cases, was now dead, and all those who adhered to him, discountenanced, and removed from places of trust and power in all the Provinces, and his Son an Infant, born after the Death of his Father, at the Mercy of the States even for his Support; the two Dowagers, his Mother and Grandmother, having great Jointures out of the Estate, and the rest being liable to the payment of vast debts. In the Treaty, *Saint-John*, who had the whole trust of the Embassy, being very powerful in the Parliament, and the known confident of *Cromwell*, pressed such a kind of Union as must disunite them from all their other Allies: so that, for the friendship of *England*, they must lose the friendship of other Princes, and yet lose many other Advantages in Trade, which they enjoyed, and which they saw the younger and more powerful Commonwealth would in a short time deprive them of. This the States could not digest and used all the ways they could to divert them from insisting upon so unreasonable conditions; and made many large Overtures and Concessions, which had never been granted by them to the greatest Kings, and were willing to quit some Advantages they had enjoyed by all the Treaties with the Crown of *England*, and to yield other considerable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

But this would not satisfy, nor would the Ambassadors recede from any particular they had proposed:

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They return  
without any  
Effect.

so that, after some Months stay, during which time they received many Affronts from some *English*, and from others, they returned with great Presents from the States, but without any effect by the Treaty, or entering into any terms of Alliance, and with the extreme indignation of *Saint-John*; which he manifested as soon as he returned to the Parliament; who disdain- ing likewise to find themselves undervalued (that is, not valued above all the world besides) presently entered upon Counsels how they might discountenance and control the Trade of *Holland*, and increase their own.

The Parlia-  
ment there-  
upon make  
the Act of  
Navigation.

Hereupon they made that Act that “inhibits all  
“ Foreign Ships from bringing in any Merchandise  
“ or Commodities into *England*, but such as were the  
“ proceed or growth of their own Country, upon  
“ the penalty of forfeiture of all such Ships” This  
indeed concerned all other Countries; but it did,  
upon the matter, totally suppress all Trade with  
*Holland*, which had very little Merchandise of the  
growth of their own Country, but had used to bring  
in their Ships the growth of all other Kingdoms in the  
world; Wine from *France* and *Spain*, Spices from the  
Indies, and all Commodities from all other Countries;  
which they must now do no more. The *Dutch* Am-  
bassador expostulated this matter very warmly, “as  
“ a breach of Commerce and Amity, which could  
“ not consist with the Peace between the two Na-  
“ tions; and that his Masters could not look upon it  
“ otherwise than as a Declaration of War.” The Par-  
liament Answered him superciliously, “that his Mas-  
“ ters might take it in what manner they pleased;

“ but They knew what was best for their own State, B O O K  
 “ and would not repeal Laws to gratify their Neigh- XIII.  
 “ bours; and caused the Act to be executed with the  
 utmost rigor and severity.

The United Provinces now discerned, that they had helped to raise an Enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the Crown had been. However, they could not believe it possible, that in the Infancy of their Republic, and when their Government was manifestly odious to all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, and the People generally weary of the Taxes and Impositions upon the Nation for the support of their Land-Armies, the Parliament would venture to increase those Taxes and Impositions proportionably to maintain a new War at Sea, at so vast an Expence, as could not be avoided; and therefore believed that they only made show of this Courage to amuse and terrify them. However, at the Spring, They set out a Fleet stronger than of course they used to do; which made no impression upon the *English*; who never suspected that the *Dutch* durst enter into a War with them. Besides that they were confident no such Counsel and Resolution could be taken on a sudden, and without their having first Notice of it, they having several of the States-General, and more of the States of *Holland*, very devoted to them. And therefore they increased not their expence, but sent out their usual Fleet for the Guard of the Coast at their Season, and with no other Instructions than they had been accustomed to.

The Council of the Admiralty of *Holland*, which Orders from the  
 governed the Maritime Affairs, without communica- Admiralty in  
 Holland.



## B O O K

## XIII.

their Fleet,  
 " not to strike  
 " to the  
 " English."

tion with the States-General, gave their Instructions to the Admiral *Van Trump*, " that when he met any  
 " of the *English* Ships of War, he should not strike to  
 " them, nor show them any other respect than what  
 " they received from them; and if the *English* ex-  
 " postulated the matter, they should answer frankly,  
 " that the respect they had formerly showed upon  
 " those Encounters, was because the Ships were the  
 " King's, and for the good intelligence they had with  
 " the Crown; but they had no reason to continue  
 " the same in this alteration of Government, except  
 " there were some Stipulation between them to that  
 " purpose: and if this Answer did not satisfy, but  
 " that force was used towards them, they should  
 " defend themselves with their utmost vigor." These  
 Instructions were very secret, and never suspected  
 by the *English* Commanders; who had their old In-  
 structions to oblige all Foreign Vessels to strike sail  
 to them: which had never been refused by any Nation.

It was about the beginning of *May* in the year 1652,  
 that the *Dutch* Fleet, consisting of above forty Sail,  
 under the Command of *Van Trump*, rode at Anchor  
 in *Dover-Road*, being driven by a strong Wind, as  
 they pretended, from the *Flanders-Coast*, when the  
*English* Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, of a much  
 less Number, appeared in view; upon which the  
*Dutch* weighed Anchor, and put out to Sea, without  
 striking their Flag; which *Blake* observing, caused  
 three Guns to be fired without any Ball. It was then  
 observed, that there was an Express Ketch came, at  
 the very time, from *Holland*, on board their Admiral;  
 and it was then conceived, that he had, by that

The war be-  
 gun upon his  
 account with  
 the Dutch.

Express, received more positive Orders to Fight: for upon the Arrival of that Express, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the *English* Fleet; and the three Guns were no sooner fired, but, in contempt of the Advertisement, he discharged one single Gun from his Poop, and hung out a red Flag; and came up to the *English* Admiral, and gave him a broadside; with which he killed many of his Men, and damaged the Ship. Whereupon, though *Blake* was surprised, as not expecting such an Assault, he deferred not to give him the same rude salutation; and so both Fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce Encounter; which continued for the space of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loss of much blood on both sides. On the part of the *Dutch*, they lost two Ships, whereof one was sunk, and the other taken, with both the Captains, and near two hundred Prisoners, On the *English* side, there were many slain, and more wounded, but no Ship lost, nor Officer of Name. When the morning appeared, the *Dutch* were gone to their Coast. And thus the War was entered into, before it was suspected in *England*.

With what consideration soever the *Dutch* had Embarked themselves in this sudden Enterprize. it quickly appeared they had taken very ill-measures of the People's Affections. For the News of this conflict was no sooner arrived in *Holland*, but there was the most general consternation, amongst all sorts of Men, that can be imagined; and the States themselves were so much troubled at it, that, with great expedition, they despatched two extraordinary Ambassadors into *England*; by whom they protested, "that the late

The States  
send two Am-  
bassadors

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into England  
about it.

“ unhappy Engagement between the Fleets of the  
 “ two Common-wealths, had happened without their  
 “ knowledge, and contrary to the intention of the  
 “ Lords the States-General: that they had received  
 “ the fatal tidings of so rash an Attempt, and Action,  
 “ with amazement, and astonishment; and that they  
 “ had immediately entered into consultation, how  
 “ they might best close this fresh bleeding Wound,  
 “ and to avoid the farther Effusion of Christian blood  
 “ so much desired by the Enemies of both States;  
 “ and therefore they most earnestly desired them, by  
 “ their mutual concurrence in Religion, and by their  
 “ mutual love of Liberty, that nothing might be done  
 “ with passion and heat; which would widen the  
 “ breach; but that they might speedily receive such  
 “ an Answer, that there might be no farther obstruc-  
 “ tion to the Trade of both Common-wealths.”

The parlia-  
 ment's An-  
 swer to them.

To which this Answer was presently returned to  
 them, “ that the civility which they had always showed  
 “ towards the States of the United Provinces, was  
 “ so notorious, that nothing was more strange than  
 “ the ill return they had made to them: that the  
 “ extraordinary preparations, which they had made,  
 “ of a hundred and fifty Ships, without any apparent  
 “ necessity, and the Instructions which had been  
 “ given to their Sea-Officers, had administered too  
 “ much cause to believe, that the Lords the States-  
 “ General of the United Provinces had a purpose to  
 “ usurp the known Right which the *English* have to  
 “ the Seas, and to destroy their Fleets; which, under  
 “ the protection of the Almighty, are their Walls  
 “ and Bulwarks; so that they might be exposed to

“ the invasion of any powerful Enemy: therefore B O O K  
 “ they thought themselves obliged to endeavour, by XII.  
 “ God’s Assistance, to seek reparation for the injuries  
 “ and damage they had already received, and to pre-  
 “ vent the like for the future: However, they should  
 “ never be without an intention and desire, that some  
 “ effectual means might be found to establish a good  
 “ Peace, Union, and right Understanding, between  
 “ the two Nations.”

With this haughty Answer they vigorously pro-  
 secuted their revenge, and commanded *Blake* present-  
 ly to Sail to the Northward; it being then the Season  
 of the year for the great Fisheries of the *Dutch* upon  
 the Coasts of *Scotland*, and the Isles of *Orkney* (by the  
 benefit whereof they drive a great part of their Trade  
 over *Europe*) where he now found their multitude of  
 fishing-Boats, guarded by twelve Ships of War; most  
 of which, with the fish they had made ready, he  
 brought away with him as good prize.

*Blakes taking  
 their fishing-  
 Boats, and  
 their Guards  
 ships.*

When *Blake* was sent to the North, Sir *George*  
*Aiscue*, being just returned from the West-Indies, was  
 sent with another part of the Fleet to the South; who,  
 at his very going out, met with thirty Sail of their  
 Merchants between *Dover* and *Calais*; a good part  
 whereof he took, or sunk; and forced the rest to run  
 on Shore upon the *French* Coast; which is very little  
 better than being taken. From thence he stood West-  
 ward; and near *Plymouth*, with thirty Sail of Men of  
 War, he engaged the whole *Dutch* Fleet, consisting  
 of sixty Ships of War, and thirty Merchants. It was  
 near four of the Clock in the Afternoon when both  
 Fleets begun to engage, so that the Night quickly

*Sir G. Aiscue  
 takes or sinks  
 30 Sail of  
 their Mer-  
 chants: fights  
 the Dutch  
 Fleet near  
 Plymouth.*



B O O K  
XIII. parted them; yet not before two of the *Holland-Ships* of War were sunk, and most of the Men lost; the *Dutch* in that Action applying themselves most to spoil the Tackling, and Sails of the *English*; in which they had so good success, that the next Morning they were not able to give them farther chase, till their Sails and Rigging could be repaired. But no day passed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable *Dutch Ships* into the Ports of *England*; which, having begun their Voyages before any notice given to them of the War, were making haste home without any fear of their Security: so that, there being now no hope of a Peace by the mediation of their Ambassadors, who could not prevail in any thing they proposed, they returned, and the War was proclaimed on either side, as well as prosecuted.

The King thought he might very reasonably hope to reap some benefit and advantage from this War so briskly entered upon on both sides; and when he had sat still till the return of the *Dutch Ambassadors* from *London*, and that all Treaties were given over, he believed it might contribute to his ends, if he made a Journey into *Holland*, and made such Propositions upon the place as he might be advised to: but when his Majesty imparted this design to his Friends there, who did really desire to serve him, he was very warmly dissuaded from coming thither; and assured, “ that it was so far from being yet seasonable. that it  
“ would more advance a Peace than any thing else  
“ that could be proposed; and would, for the present,  
“ bring the greatest prejudice to his Sister, and to the  
“ affairs of his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, that  
“ could be imagined.”

The King hereupon took a resolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce the good he desired. The *Dutch* Ambassador then resident at *Paris*, Monsieur *Borrel*, who had been Pensioner of *Amsterdam*, was very much devoted to the King's Service, having been formerly Ambassador in *England*, and had always dependance upon the Princes of *Orange* successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who visited him constantly once a Week, and received Advertisements, and Advices from him, and the Ambassador frequently came to His Lodging. The King, upon conference only with the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor, and enjoining them secrecy, caused a Paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "that he had very good reason to believe, that there were many Officers and Sea-men engaged in the Service of the *English* Fleet, who undertook that Service in hope to find a good opportunity to serve his Majesty; and that, if the *Dutch* were willing to receive him, he would immediately put himself on board their Fleet, without requiring any Command, except of such Ships only, as, upon their notice of his being there, should repair to him out of the Rebels Fleet:" by this means, he presumed, "he should be able much to weaken their Naval power, and to raise Divisions in the Kingdom, by which the *Dutch* would receive benefit and advantage." Having signed this Paper, he sent the Chancellor with it open, to show to the *Dutch* Ambassador, and to desire him to send it enclosed in his Letter to the States. The Ambassador was very

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The King at  
Paris proposes  
to Monsieur  
Borrel the  
Dutch Amba-  
sador that he  
would join  
his Interest  
with theirs.

**B O O K** much surpris'd with it, and made some scruple of  
**XIII.** sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advis'd it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his Affection to the King, and for his dependance upon the House of *Orange*. In the end, he desired "the King would inclose it in a Letter to him, and oblige him to send it to the States-General:" which was done accordingly; and he sent it by the Post to the States.

The War had already made the Councils of the States less united than they had been, and the Party that was known to be inclined to the Prince of *Orange*, recovered courage, and joined with those who were no Friends to the War; and, when this Message from the King was read, magnified the King's Spirit in making this Overture, and wished that an Answer of very humble thanks and acknowledgment might be returned to his Majesty. They said, "no means ought to be neglected that might abate the pride and power of the Enemy:" and as soon as the People heard of it, they thought it reasonable to accept the King's Offer. *De Wit*, who was Pensioner of *Holland*, and had the greatest influence upon their Counsels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the King; which, he foresaw, must necessarily introduce the pretences of the Prince of *Orange*; to whom he was an avowed and declared Enemy. He told them, "indeed it was a very generous offer of the King; but if they should accept it, they could never recede from his Interest; which, instead of putting an end to the War, of which they were already weary, would make it without end, and would be the ruin of their

“ State: that, whilst they were free from being engaged in any Interest but their own, they might reasonably hope that both sides would be equally weary of the War, and then a Peace would easily ensue; which they should otherwise put out of their own power;” so that thanks were returned to the King for his good Will; and they pursued their own method in their Counsels, and were much superior to those who were of another opinion, desiring nothing so much, as to make a Peace upon any conditions.

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Thanks returned to the King by the States, but his proposal laid aside.

Nor can it appear very wonderful, that the *Dutch* made show of so much flegm in this Affair, when the very choler and pride of the *French* was, about the same time, so humbled by the Spirit of the *English*, that, though they took their Ships every day, and made them prize, and had now seized upon their whole Fleet that was going to the relief of *Dunkirk* (that was then closely besieged by the *Spaniard*, and by the taking that Fleet, was delivered into their hands) yet the *French* would not be provoked to be angry with them, or to express any inclination to the King; but sent an Ambassador, which they had not before done, to expostulate very civilly with the Parliament for having been so unneighbourly, but in truth to desire their Friendship upon what terms they pleased; the Cardinal fearing nothing so much, as that the *Spaniard* would make such a conjunction with the new Common-wealth, as should disappoint and break all his designs.

The English seize on a French Fleet going to the relief of Dunkirk.

The French send an Ambassador into England.

The insupportable losses which the *Dutch* every day sustained by the taking their Merchant-Ships, and their Ships of War, and the total obstruction of their



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Trade, broke their hearts, and increased their factions and divisions at home. All the Seas were covered with the *English* Fleets; which made no distinctions of Seasons, but were as active in the Winter as the Summer: and engaged the *Dutch* upon any inequality of Number. The *Dutch* having been beaten in the Mouth of *October*, and *Blake* having received a bruff from them in the Month of *December* in the Month of *February*, the most dangerous season of the Year, They, having appointed a Rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty Merchant-Men, sent a Fleet of above one hundred Sail of Men of War to convoy them; and *Blake*, with a Fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp Battle from Noon till the Night parted them: which disposed them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but, in the Morning, they found that the *English* had attended them so close, that they were engaged again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand Men who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their Merchant-Men to the *English*, that they might make their flight the more securely.

In February  
Blake engages  
the Dutch  
Fleet; who  
are beaten.

The Dutch  
send again to  
the Parliament  
for Peace.

This last loss made them send again to the Parliament to desire a Peace; who rejected the Overture, as they pretended, "for want of formality" (for they always pretended a desire of an honorable Peace) the Address being made only by the States of *Holland*, and *West-Friesland*, the States General being at that time not Assembled. It was generally believed, that this Address from *Holland* was not only with the Approbation, but by the direction of *Cromwell*; who

Cromwell  
never zealous

had rather consented to those particulars, which were naturally like to produce that War, to gratify *Saint-John* (who was inseparable from him in all his other Counsels, and was incensed by the *Dutch*) than approved the Resolution. And now he found, by the expence of the Engagements had already passed on both sides, what an insupportable Charge that War must be attended with. Besides, he well discerned that all Parties, Friends and Foes, Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the War; which, he thought, could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the Expence might make it necessary to disband a great part of the Land-Army (of which there appeared no use) to support the Navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he Authority to place his own Creatures there, all the Officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the Parliament: So that when this Address was made by the *Dutch*, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a Treaty thereupon entered into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deferred not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the Parliament with a witness, and by a way they least thought of.

Though *Cromwell* was exercised with these contradictions and vexations at home, by the Authority of the Parliament, he found not the least opposition from abroad. He was more absolute in the other two Kingdoms, more feared, and more obeyed, than any King had ever been; and all the Dominions belonging to the Crown, owned no other subjection than to the

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for this War  
with the  
Dutch, but  
governed in it  
by Saint-John,

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Guernsey and  
Jersey had  
been now  
reduced.  
Sir George  
Carteret de-  
fended this as  
long as he  
could, and  
Elizabeth-  
Castle.

Common-wealth of *England*. The Isles of *Guernsey*, and *Jersey*, and *Scilly*, were reduced; the former presently after the Battle of *Worcester*; and the other, after the King's return to *Paris*; Sir *George Carteret* having well defended *Jersey* as long as he could, and being so over-powered that he could no longer defend the *Island*, he retired into Castle *Elizabeth*; which he had fortified, and provided with all things necessary for a Siege; presuming that, by the care and diligence of the Lord *Fermyn*, who was Governor thereof, he should receive Supplies of Men and Provision, as he should stand in need of them; as he might easily have done in spite of any power of the Parliament by Sea, or Land. But it had been the principal reason that *Cromwell* had hitherto kept the better Quarter with the Cardinal, lest the bait of those two Islands, which the King could have put into his hands when he would, should tempt him to give his Majesty any Assistance. But the King was so strict and punctual in his care of the Interest of *England*, when he seemed to be abandoned by it, that he chose rather to suffer those places of great importance to fall into *Cromwell's* power, than to deposite them, upon any conditions, into *French* hands; which, he knew, would never restore them to the just owner, what obligations soever they entered into.

When that Castle had been besieged three Months, and the Enemy could not approach nearer to plant their Ordnance than, at least, half an *English* Mile, the Sea encompassing it round more than so far from any Land, and it not being possible for any of their Ships to come within such a distance, they brought

notwithstanding Mortar-pieces of such an incredible greatness, and such as had never been before seen in this part of the world, that from the highest point of the Hill, near St. *Hilary's*, they shot Granadoes of a vast bigness into the Castle, and beat down many Houses; and, at last, blowed up a great Magazine, where most of the provision of Victuals lay; and killed many Men. Upon which Sir *George Carteret* sent an Express to give the King an Account of the condition he was in, and to desire a supply of Men and Provisions; which it being impossible for his Majesty to procure, he sent him Orders to make the best conditions he could; which he shortly after did; and came himself to *Paris*, to give the King a larger information of all that had passed in that Affair; and afterwards remained in *France* under many mortifications. by the power and prosecution of *Cromwell*, till the King's happy Restoration.

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The King  
sends him  
Orders to  
make con-  
ditions.

All the Foreign Plantations had submitted to the Yoke; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having Citizens and inferior Persons put to Govern them, instead of Gentlemen, who had been intrusted by the King in those places. *New-England* had been too much Allied to all the Conspiracies and Combinations against the Crown, not to be very well pleased that Men of their own Principles prevailed; and settled a Government themselves were delighted with. The *Barbadoes*, which was much the Richest Plantation, was principally Inhabited by Men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in *England*, and without any ill thoughts towards the

The Foreign  
Plantations  
also were  
subdued.

The Barba-  
does delivered  
up.



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King; many of them having served him with Fidelity and Courage, during the War; and, that being ended, made that *Island* their Refuge from farther persecutions. But having now gotten good Estates there (as it is incredible to what fortunes Men raised themselves in few years, in the Plantation) they were more willing to live in Subjection to that Government at that distance, than to return into *England*, and be liable to the Penalties of their former Transgressions; which, upon the Articles of Surrender, they were indemnified for: Nor was there any other alteration there than the removing the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the Parliament, as well as by being Governor there by the King's Commission) and putting an inferior mean Man in his place.

More was expected from *Virginia*; which was the most Ancient Plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in Sir *William Berkeley*, the Governor thereof, who had industriously invited many Gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of Security, which he could defend against any Attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many Persons of Condition, and good Officers in the War, had Transported themselves, with all the Estates they had been able to preserve; with which the honest Governor, for no Man meant better, was so confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the King almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the Parliament had nothing else to do, that Plantation in a short time was more improved in  
People

People and Stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the *Indians* to very good Neighbourhood. But, alas! they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employed in the making the best Advantage of their particular Plantations, without assigning time or Men to provide for the Public Security in building Forts, or any places of Retreat, that there no sooner appeared two or three Ships from the Parliament than all thoughts of Resistance were laid aside. Sir *William Berkeley*, the Governor, was suffered to remain there as a Private Man, upon his own Plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the Reputation he had with the People, till upon the noise and fame of the King's Restoration, he did as quietly resume the Exercise of his former Commission, and found as ready an Obedience. About this time also, *Scilly*, which had been vigorously defended by Sir *John Grenvil*, till it wanted all things, was delivered up to Sir *George Aiscue*. And Virginia.

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the Affairs of *Scotland* (which will be part of the Argument of the next Book) where *Monk* for the present Governed with a Rod of Iron, and at last found no contradiction, or opposition to his good Will and Pleasure. In *Ireland*, if that People had not been prepared and ripe for destruction, there had happened an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and disposed the Nation to have united themselves under their new Deputy, whom they had themselves desired, under all the solemn obligations of Obedience. Shortly after

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Ireton died in  
Limerick of  
the Plague.

Ludlow suc-  
ceeded him in  
the Charge of  
the Army.

The Character  
of Ireton.

the departure of the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Cromwell's* Deputy, *Ireton*, who had married his Daughter, died in *Limerick* of the Plague; which was gotten into his Army, that was so much weakened by it, and there were so great Factions and Divisions among the Officers after his sudden death, that great Advantages might have been gotten by it. His Authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the Civil, as well as Martial Affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no Man had Authority to take the Command upon him, till *Cromwell's* Pleasure was farther known; who put the Charge of the Army under *Ludlow*, a Man of a very different Temper from the other; but appointed the Civil Government to run in another Channel, so that there remained jealousy and discontent enough still between the Council and the Officers to have shaken a Government that was yet no better established.

*Ireton*, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholic, reserved, dark Nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that for the most part, he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over *Cromwell* himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes; which the other always concealed and disavowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends

and designs. It was generally conceived by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that *Ireton* was a Man so radically averse from Monarchy, and so fixt to a Republic-Government, that, if he had lived, he would either, by his Counsel and Credit, have prevented those excesses in *Cromwell*, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the Army with him; and that *Cromwell*, who best knew his Nature, and his Temper, had therefore carried him into *Ireland* and left him there, that he might be without his Counsels or Importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his Mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards Civil Affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that Government, which his heart was set upon (being a Scholar conversant in the Law, and in all those Authors who had expressed the greatest Animosity and Malice against the Legal Government) than for the Conduct of an Army to support it, his Personal Courage being never reckoned among his other Abilities.

What Influence soever his Life might have had upon the future Transactions, certain it is, his Death had none upon the State of *Ireland* to the King's Advantage. The Marquis of *Glanricard* left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength, and power of the *Irish* Nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the King's Government. He sent out his Orders and Warrants for the Levying of new Men, and to draw the old Troops together, and to raise Money: but few Men could be

The ill condition of the Marquis of Glanricard's affairs in Ireland.



**B O O K** got together, and when they were Assembled, they  
**XIII.** could not stay together for want of Money to pay them: so that he could never get a Body together to march towards the Enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appeared, that they had made those ample Vows and Protestations, that they might be rid of the Marquis of *Ormond*, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the Popish Clergy, and all the *Irish* of *Uster*, had no mind to have any relation to the *English* Nation, and as little to return to their Obedience to the Crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the Nuntio and thought of nothing but how they might get some Foreign Prince to take them into his Protection. They first chose a Committee, *Phinck* and *Brown*, two Lawyers, who had been eminent Conductors of the Rebellion from the beginning, and Men of good Parts, and joined others with them, who were in *France* and *Flanders*. Then they moved the Lord Deputy, to send these Gentlemen into *Flanders*, "to invite the Duke of *Lorraine* to assist them with Arms, Money, and Ammunition, undertaking to have good Intelligence from thence, that the Duke (who was known to wish well to the King) was well prepared to receive their desire, and resolved, out of his Affection to the King, to engage himself cordially in the defence of that Catholic Kingdom, his Zeal to that Religion being known to be very great."

The Rebels  
 relate to in-  
 viting the Duke  
 of Lorraine  
 thither :

The Marquis of *Clanricard* had no opinion of the Expedient, or that the Duke would engage himself

on the behalf of a People who had so little Reputation in the World; and therefore refused to give any Commission to those Gentlemen, or to any other to that purpose, without first receiving the King's Order, or at least the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was known to be safely arrived in *France*. But that was looked upon as a delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence, and information of the Duke of *Lorraine's* being willing to undertake their Relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the Libels, and Scandals, and Declarations, which had been published against the Marquis of *Ormond*, were now renewed, with equal Malice and Virulency, against the Marquis of *Clanricard*; and they declared, "that God would never bless his withered hand, " which had always concurred with *Ormond* in the " Prosecution of the Catholic Confederates from the " beginning of their Engagement for the defence of " their Religion; and that he had still had more conversation with Heretics than with Catholics: that " he had refused always to submit to the Pope's Authority; and had treated his Nuntio with less respect than was due from any good Catholic; and " that all the Catholics who were cherished or countenanced by him, were of the same Faction." In the end, he could not longer resist the importunity of the Assembly of the Confederate Catholics (which was again brought together) and of the Bishops and Clergy that governed the other; but gave his consent to send the same Persons they recommended to him; and gave them his Credentials to the Duke o

**B O O K** *Lorraine*; but required them “punctually to observe  
**XIII.** “his own Instructions, and not to presume to depart  
 “from them in the least degree.” Their Instructions  
 were “to give the Marquis of *Ormond* notice of their  
 “Arrival; and to show him their Instructions; and to  
 “conclude nothing without his positive Advice;”  
 who he well knew, would communicate all with the  
 Queen; and that likewise, “when they came into  
 “*Flanders*, they should advise with such of the King’s  
 “Council as should be there. and proceed in all  
 “things as they should direct.”

What Instructions ever the Lord Deputy prescribed to them, the Commissioners received others from the Council and Assembly of their Clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolved to follow; by which they were authorized to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the Duke of *Lorraine* to take them into his Protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the Kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in *France*, they gave no notice of their business or their arrival to the Queen, or to the Marquis of *Ormond*; but prosecuted their journey to *Brussels*, and made their Address, with all secrecy, to the Duke of *Lorraine*. There were, at the same time, at *Antwerp*, the Marquis of *New-Castle*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who was newly returned from his Embassy in *Spain*) and Secretary *Nicholas*; all three had been of the King’s Council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the Duke of *Fork* during this time, passed through *Brussels*, in his journey to *Paris*; they imparted not their Negotiations to his Highness.

Commissioners  
 sent to him to  
*Brussels*.

B O O K

XIII.

The Duke of *Lorraine* had a very good mind to get footing in *Ireland*: where, he was sure, there wanted no Men to make Armies enough, which he thought were not like to want Courage to defend their Country and Religion. And the Commissioners very frankly offered “to deliver up *Galloway*, and all the “ places which were in their possession, into his “ hands with the remainder of the Kingdom, as soon “ as it could be reduced; and to obey him absolutely “ as their Prince.” But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it appeared to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then apprehended, discovered much of his Affection to the King, and his resolution “not to “ accept any thing that was proposed, without his “ Majesty’s privity and full approbation.” But in the mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content to send the Abbot of St. *Catharine’s* a *Lorrainer*, and a Person principally trusted by him, as his Ambassador into *Ireland*, to be informed of the true State of that Kingdom, and what real strength the Confederate Catholics were possessed of, and at what Unity among themselves. With him he sent about three or four thousand Pistoles, to supply their present Necessities, and some Arms and Ammunition. The Duke writ to the Lord Deputy the Marquis of *Clanricard*, as the King’s Governor, and the Person by whose Authority all those Propositions had been made to him by the Commissioners.

The Duke  
sends an Abbot  
into Ireland to  
be informed of  
the State of it.

The Abbot upon his Arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found, that the Marquis knew nothing of what the Commissioners had proposed or offered; and would by no means, so much as enter



**B O O K** upon any Treaty with him; but disavowed all that  
 XIII. they had said or done, with much vehemence, and  
 The Marquis requires any consent to the Treaty. with a Protestation, "that he would cause their heads  
 "to be cut off, if they returned, or came into his  
 "hands." And the Marquis did, at the same time,  
 write very large Letters both to the King, and the  
 Marquis of *Ormond*, of their presumption and wicked-  
 ness; and very earnestly desired, "that they might  
 "be imprisoned, and kept till they might undergo a  
 "just Trial."

As the Marquis expressed all possible indignation,  
 so many of the Catholic Nobility, and even some of  
 their Clergy, who never intended to withdraw their  
 Loyalty from the Crown of *England*, how weakly  
 forever they had manifested it, indeed all the *Irish*  
 Nation, but those of *Ulster*, who were of the old Septs,  
 were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their  
 strength was to be delivered presently up into the  
 possession of a Foreign Prince; upon whose good  
 nature only, it must be presumed that he would here-  
 after restore it to the King. It was now time for the  
 Popish Bishops, and their Confederates, to make  
 good what had been offered by the Commissioners  
 with their Authority; which though they thought  
 not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in  
 procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They  
 very importunately advised, and pressed the Lord  
 Deputy, "to confirm what had been offered, as the  
 "only visible means to preserve the Nation, and  
 "Root out of which the King's Right might again  
 "spring and grow up:" and when they found, that  
 he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that,

if he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give Audience to the Ambassador, and removed from the place where they were, to his own House and Castle at *Portumny*, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced owned all that the Commissioners had propounded, "as done" by their Order. who could make it good;" and desired the Ambassador "to enter into a Treaty with them;" and declared "that they would sign such Articles, with which the Duke of *Lorraine* should be well satisfied." They undervalued the power of the Marquis of *Clanricard*, as not able to oppose any agreement they should make, nor able to make good any thing he should promise himself, without Their Assistance.

The Ambassador was a wise Man, and of flegm enough; and though he heard all they would say, and received any Propositions they would give him in writing, yet he quickly discerned, that they were so unskilful as to the managery of any great design, and so disjointed among themselves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpose; and excused himself from entering upon any new Treaty with them, as having no Commission to treat but with the Lord Deputy. But he told them, "he would deliver" all that they had, or would propose to him, to the Duke his Master; who, he presumed, would speedily return his Answer, and proceed with their Commissioners in such a manner as would be grateful to them." So he returned in the same Ship that brought him, and gave the Duke such an Account of

The Abbot  
returns to the

B O O K

XIII.

Duke; where  
upon the Duke  
gives over the  
Negotiation.

his Voyage, and that People, that put an end to that Negotiation; which had been entered into and prosecuted, with less wariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that Prince was accustomed to use.

When the Ambassador was gone, they prosecuted the Deputy, with all Reproaches of betraying and ruining his Country; and had several designs upon his Person, and communicated whatever Attempt was resolved to the Enemy: yet there were many of the Nobility and Gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his Person from any Violence they intended against him, but could not secure him, against their Acts of Treachery, nor keep his Counsels from being betrayed. After the Defeat of *Worcester* was known and published, they less considered all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own security that way that seemed most probable to him; and whosoever was most intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the Deputy, and loudly urged “ the necessity of uniting themselves for the public “ safety, which was desperate any other way: whilst in truth every Man was negotiating for his own indemnity with *Ludlow* (who commanded the *English*) or for leave to transport Regiments; which kept the Soldiers together, as if they had been the Deputy’s Army.

The Lord  
Clauvicard  
discovers a  
correspond-  
ence manag-  
ed by a Friar  
between the

The Deputy had a suspicion of a fellow, who was observed every day to go out, and returned not till the next; and appointed an Officer of trust, with some Horse, to watch him, and search him; which they did; and found about him a Letter, which contained

many Reproaches against the Marquis, and the Intelligence of many particulars; which the Messenger was carrying to *Ludlow*. It was quickly discovered that the Letter was written by one Father *Cohogan*, a Franciscan Friar in *Galloway*, where the Deputy then was; but much of the Intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The Deputy caused the Friar to be imprisoned, and resolved to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discovered his Complices. The Friar confessed the Letter to be of his writing, but refused to Answer to any other Question; and demanded his Privilege of a Church-Man, and not to be tried by the Deputy's Order. The Conclusion was, the Popish Bishops caused him to be taken out of the Prison; and sent to the Deputy, "that if he would send to them his Evidence against the Friar, who was an Ecclesiastical Person, they would take care that justice should be done."

This Proceeding convinced the Deputy, that he should not be able to do the King any Service in that Company; nor durst he stay longer in that Town, lest they should make their own Peace by delivering up him and the Town together; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time he removed from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betrayed; and sometimes without any Accommodations: so that, not having been accustomed to those hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he

BOOK

XIII.

Popish Irish  
Clergy and  
Ludlow.



**B O O K** received Commands from the King. For as soon as he  
**XIII.** had Advertifement of the King's Arrival at *Paris*, and  
 it was very evident by the behaviour of the *Irish*,  
 that they would be no more applied to the King's  
 Service under His Command than under the Marquis  
 of *Ormond's*, he sent the Earl of *Castle-haven* (who had  
 been formerly a General of the Confederate Catholics,  
 and remained with great constancy with the Marquis  
 of *(lanricard*, as long as there was any hope) to the  
 King, with so particular an account under his own  
 hand of all that had passed, from the time that he had  
 received his Commission from the Marquis of *Ormond*,  
 that it even contained almost a *Diary*, in which he  
 made so lively a description of the proceedings of the  
*Irish*, of their Overtures to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and  
 of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards  
 him, that any Man might discern, especially they who  
 knew the generosity of the Marquis, his Nature, and  
 his custom of Living, that he had submitted to a life  
 very uncomfortable and melancholic; and desired  
 his Majesty's leave that he might retire, and procure  
 a Pass to go into *England*; where he had some Estate  
 of his own, and many Friends, who would not suffer  
 him to starve; which his Majesty made haste to send  
 to him, with as great a Testimony of his gracious  
 Acceptation of his Service, and Affection, as his  
 singular merit deserved.

He sends the  
 Earl of Castle-  
 haven to give  
 an account of  
 all to the  
 King.

The King  
 sends him  
 leave to retire.

The Marquis  
 gets a Pass  
 from Ludlow

Thereupon the Marquis sent to *Ludlow* for a Pass  
 to go into *England*, and render himself to the Parlia-  
 ment; which he presently sent him; and so the Mar-  
 quis Transported himself to *London*; where he was  
 civilly treated by all Men, as a Man who had many

Friends, and could have no Enemies but those who could not be Friends to any. But by the Infirmities he had contracted in *Ireland*, by those severe fatigues and distresses he had been exposed to, he lived not to the end of a year ; and had resolved , upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have Transported himself to the King, and attended his Fortune. He left behind him so full a Relation, of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that Rebellion, as during the time of his own Administration, that I have been the less particular in the Accounts of what passed in the Transactions of that Kingdom, presuming that more exact work of His will, in due time, be communicated to the World.

B O O K

XIII.

and goes into  
England, and  
dies within a  
Year.

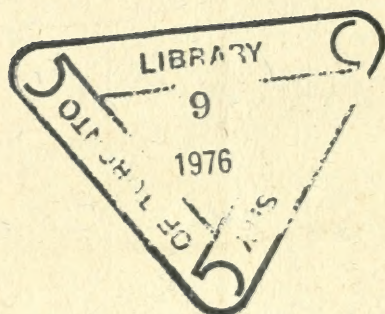
The Affairs of the three Nations being in this posture at the end of the year 1652, and there being new Accidents, and Alterations of a very extraordinary Nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of Success, though not with that benefit to the King as might have been expected naturally from those Emotions, We shall here conclude this Book, and reserve the other for the Next.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.









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